



France in the Golden Age

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by Antoine Le Nain (No. 45)

Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Pierre Rosenberg

France in the Golden Age
Seventeenth-Century French Paintings
in American Collections

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Art Institute

The Chase Manhattan Bank is committed to excellence, and I am pleased that the exhibition *France in the Golden Age: Seventeenth-Century French Paintings in American Collections* at The Metropolitan Museum of Art has provided for us the opportunity to demonstrate that commitment. Chase Manhattan has contributed for many years to the ongoing operation of the Museum, but this occasion marks the first time we have sponsored a major show.

One of the world's great museums, the Metropolitan has consistently presented art of the highest quality: *France in the Golden Age* continues that tradition.

We are grateful to Pierre Rosenberg for his scholarly and sensitive organization of the exhibition, and we feel privileged to participate in this venture.

Willard C. Butcher
Chairman, The Chase Manhattan Bank

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Foreword

France in the Golden Age: Seventeenth-Century French Paintings in American Collections affords the public, in both France and the United States, its first opportunity to discover the richness and depth of American collections of seventeenth-century French painting, and provides a surprisingly comprehensive overview in every genre and in work of the finest quality of this artistically fecund period. France and America have enjoyed an especially close relationship for many centuries, one that has extended beyond the boundaries of politics and economics and has left its imprint on the arts. At the end of the eighteenth century, for example, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were fascinated with contemporary painting in Paris; and Americans one hundred years later — primarily in New York, Boston, and Chicago — were active patrons of the French Impressionists as well as of the Salon painters.

In general, American collectors have tended to prefer French paintings dating from after 1700. The great early twentieth-century collections formed in New York, for instance, have few seventeenth-century French pictures. There were none in the Frick Collection when it opened its doors to the public in 1935; not until 1948 was the Georges de La Tour (now thought to be a copy) acquired, and the Claude Lorrain was purchased in 1960. Conversely, Henry Frick assembled many important eighteenth-century works by Boucher, Fragonard, and Pater. Similarly, not one major seventeenth-century French painting was given by Messrs. Bache, Friedsam, or Morgan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Benjamin Altman did not own any pictures from this period, and the Havemeyers bequeathed to the Museum only a Jean-François Millet (No. 72 in the exhibition). The collection has been enriched primarily through acquisitions made in the last half-century and through the generous gifts of Charles and Jayne Wrightsman.

The story is much the same at The Art Institute of Chicago. Major collections of French paintings given to the Institute by such collectors as the Ryersons, the Bartletts, the Fields, and the Palmers were comprised, like those at the Metropolitan, mainly of Barbizon, Impressionist, and Post-Impressionist pictures. At the important *Century of Progress* loan exhibitions held in Chicago in 1933 and 1934, only four seventeenth-century French paintings appeared, as opposed to the more than 150 nineteenth-century works.

America's interest in seventeenth-century France is a recent phenomenon. In 1960-1961, the Metropolitan Museum, together with the National Gallery of Art and the Toledo Museum of Art, presented a survey of seventeenth-century French paintings and decorative arts in *The Splendid Century: French Art 1600-1715*, an exhibition drawn primarily from museums in Paris and the French provinces. To have organized so comprehensive an exhibition using American holdings exclusively would at that time have been impossible. The paintings selected by Pierre Rosenberg for *France in the Golden Age* not only exemplify the various styles and concepts of seventeenth-century French painting but also illustrate the remarkable acquisitions made in the United States in recent times. Of the 124 paintings in the exhibition, only 68 were in the United States in 1960, the year of *The Splendid Century*. And at the outbreak of World War II, only 23 of these pictures were on American shores.

There were of course other seventeenth-century French paintings in the United States before the war. For example, La Hyre's *Kiss of Peace and Justice* (No. 34) was shown at the Boston Athenaeum in 1832; Poussin's *Midas Bathing in the River Pactolus* was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in 1871; and other works entered the New-York Historical Society long before 1900. But it is really only in this century, when many of the great English collections began to be dispersed, that American holdings started to grow.

Most of the paintings in the exhibition came to the United States as museum purchases — often considered quite daring — by such directors as W. R. Valentiner and such curators as Theodore Rousseau, Jr. Art dealers also played an important part in bringing these works to the United States. Among the collectors who have been instrumental in expanding American collections are Rush and Samuel Kress, Norton Simon, and Robert Manning. The role of scholars has been even more crucial in renewing interest in seventeenth-century French painting: Anthony Blunt's *Art and Architecture in France 1500 to 1700*, first published in 1953, is a seminal work; Charles Sterling (author of the Metropolitan's 1955 catalogue of pre-nineteenth-century paintings), Jacques Thuillier, and Marcel Roethlisberger have also made major contributions to the field. And recent exhibitions devoted to Poussin, La Tour, the Le Nains, and French Caravaggism have added

significantly to our knowledge of the period. Pierre Rosenberg, however, whose prolific writings have altered our perceptions of the century, deserves special mention; and indeed, we are indebted to him for having organized *France in the Golden Age*.

It is fitting that the exhibition opens first in Paris, as it is a testament to one of France's most glorious contributions, its painting. The art of the seventeenth century bears witness to far greater innovation than was previously supposed and will be, it is hoped, more fully appreciated as a result of the scholarship of which this catalogue is the summation.

Hubert Landais

Director, Musées de France

Philippe de Montebello

Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

James N. Wood

Director, The Art Institute of Chicago

Preface

The exhibition *France in the Golden Age: Seventeenth-Century French Paintings in American Collections* has several aims. First, to reveal the most beautiful French paintings of the seventeenth century in public institutions and in a few major private collections in the United States — from the most prestigious to those that are less well known and often overlooked. Second, to present, by way of objective selection, a panorama that is as varied and complete as possible of works from this century when France was confirmed as Europe's first political and economic power. Finally, the catalogue for the exhibition has provided the long dreamed-of opportunity to establish an inventory of French seventeenth-century paintings in American museums.

In order to accomplish these three objectives, it was necessary to visit as many American museums as possible and to reexamine the paintings, with special attention to their condition, before requesting loans; it was important also not to pass over paintings relegated to museum storage and attributed to the Flemish and Italian schools (in this way, we were recently able to restore to Jacques Stella a lovely *Holy Family* in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts). We also consulted the innumerable inventories and card catalogues of these museums so as not to miss any work that could possibly be attributed to the French school.

The first part of the catalogue is divided into eleven sections according to the major artists and currents of the period. Thanks to the richness of American collections, we have been able to illustrate through the 124 paintings in the exhibition the history and stylistic evolution of a century of French painting; some artists are, unfortunately, absent, such as Joseph Parrocel — born in 1646, admittedly rather late in the century — and van der Meulen.

Comprehensive as we wished the exhibition to be, we had nevertheless to impose a time frame. Although this was difficult, it seemed reasonable to start with the French Caravaggesque painters established in Rome during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, to omit the second school of Fontainebleau, and not to attempt to show works executed either during this period or in Paris under the reign of Henry IV by artists of Flemish descent, such as Pourbus; in the first place, our knowledge of this art is relatively scant, and furthermore, works by these artists are rare in American collections. It was also difficult to choose a terminus for the exhibition. The reign of Louis XIV bridges two centuries and, where painting is concerned — and this cannot be repeated often enough — shows no unity of style. We therefore made the most obvious choice: the deaths, only five years apart, of Le Brun (1690) and Mignard (1695), which represent a break sufficiently pronounced to be considered the end of what we call French painting of the seventeenth century.

The exhibition presents works by more than fifty artists. Three were born before 1590 (Deruet, Guy François, and Jean Leclerc), three were born after 1640 (Colombel, Millet, and Verdier; La Fosse, although born in 1636, already paints in a later style), and two died after 1700 (Meiffren Conte, the Marseilles painter of still life, and the aforementioned Verdier). Few of the works exhibited date from before 1620 or after 1680. Some of the artists represented have always been famous (e.g., Poussin and Claude Lorrain), others became popular only in the nineteenth century (the Le Nains, for example), or even as recently as the last fifty years (La Tour). The still-life painters (Linard, Moillon, and Stoskopff), the Caravaggesque painters (especially Valentin, Vouet, and Vignon), the landscapists working in Italy (Dughet and the painter of battle scenes, Jacques Courtois) or in Paris (Millet) — these in their turn have been rediscovered by scholars, art dealers, collectors, museum curators, and the public. Collectors and art dealers were at times ahead of the scholars in the rehabilitation of a certain movement or a certain painter — still-life painting, for example, or “Monsù Desiderio” (François de Nomé), so prized by those drawn to the bizarre and the fantastic. Scholars have devoted themselves to painters forgotten after they died (e.g., Colombel, Mellin, and Guy François). Museums, too, have been responsible for the revival of interest in individual painters, as when the work of an artist who has not been seriously studied or published in monograph (and indeed, monographs are rare) and who is unknown by the general public (e.g., Stella or Le Sueur) is acquired — often with taste and with daring — for their collections. And we ourselves have chosen in this exhibition to emphasize artists we feel have often been unjustly neglected.

The second part of the book is comprised of the catalogue proper and is

arranged alphabetically by artist. We encountered unexpected difficulties in the preparation of the entries, especially with regard to the histories of the paintings: the works that were in England in the nineteenth century often had wrong attributions or no attributions at all, and provenances for these paintings were often unrecorded; these we have attempted to reconstruct. The third and last part of the book is the Inventory of French seventeenth-century paintings in public collections in the United States; its purpose and its limitations are set out in the pages that serve as its introduction.

One aspect of French seventeenth-century painting that deserves in-depth study but can be touched upon only briefly here is its history in American museums. Who were the collectors, museum directors, curators, and scholars instrumental in building these collections? What role did chance play in their creation? Or can we legitimately speak of an acquisitions policy? We have alluded in the catalogue entries to many of these questions and have referred to some of the “heroes” of this adventure, from A. Everett Austin, Jr. (see No. 104), director, in turn, of the Hartford and Sarasota museums, who acquired first-rate French paintings for these institutions, to Luis A. Ferré and Norton Simon, who did the same more recently.

Several exhibitions have been of great importance: *French Painting of the Time of Louis XIIIth and Louis XIVth*, organized in 1946 by Walter Friedlaender, Charles Sterling, and Jane Costello and held at Wildenstein’s, New York; *Vouet to Rigaud*, held at the Finch College Museum of Art in 1967 and organized by Robert L. Manning, a distinguished collector of paintings of this period and author of a seminal article on Simon Vouet; and Michel Laclotte’s *The Splendid Century: French Art 1600-1715*, held more than twenty years ago at the National Gallery of Art, the Toledo Museum of Art, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, an exhibition that presented to the American public the finest French paintings of the seventeenth century from French provincial museums. (Six of the thirteen paintings included in that exhibition from the Metropolitan Museum and shown only in New York appear also in the present exhibition.)

Also notable in the history of French seventeenth-century paintings in American museums is the catalogue by Charles Sterling (1955) of paintings in the Metropolitan Museum, and that of the Kress Collection by Colin Eisler (1977). And yet the appearance of French seventeenth-century paintings in the United States extends as far back as the end of the eighteenth century. Rita Susswein Gottesman (1959) tried to demonstrate that the Bourdon *Finding of Moses* from the Kress Collection (No. 11) was exhibited as early as 1802-1803 in New York, but everything we know points rather to that painting’s being an early copy of the very beautiful original in Washington. More curious still is the exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum in 1832 of La

Hyre's *Kiss of Peace and Justice* (No. 34), which was sold at public auction in London in 1970 and acquired the following year by the Cleveland Museum of Art. The recent work of Perkins and Gavin (1980) devoted to the Boston Athenaeum exhibitions held between 1827 and 1874 tends to support the idea that French seventeenth-century paintings were present in not insubstantial numbers in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although it is not surprising to find, among the artists included, the names of Courtois, Champaigne, Poussin, Dughet, and Claude, it is remarkable to find those of Stella, Le Nain, and Nicolas Loir.

The writings of Michel Benisovich (1953, 1956, 1959) and of the late Yvon Bizardel (1976, 1978, 1980) discuss Thomas Jefferson, a great lover of art, purchases made in France during the Revolution and under the Empire (in particular, those of Richard Codman), the sale of paintings from the collection of the Swedish painter Wertmüller in Philadelphia in 1812, and other sales of French collections during the first half of the nineteenth century. Thomas Jefferson Bryan (1802-1870) in 1867 gave his collection, rich in French paintings (the best as well as the most pedestrian) to the New-York Historical Society. The Bryan collection is, unfortunately, for the most part dispersed (Sotheby's, New York, 9 October 1980), although such important paintings as Champaigne's *Portrait of a Man with a Little Dog* (see Inventory) are on view at the Metropolitan Museum.

E. Durand-Gréville, in two articles published in 1887 in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, describes the principal private art galleries in the United States, and of all the French painters in the seventeenth century only the name of Claude Lorrain appears. Louis Réau's attempt to compile an inventory of French seventeenth-century paintings in American museums appeared in the Paris 1926 publication *L'Art français aux États-Unis*. The inventory, although useful, is quite incomplete and is today obsolete.

Of the 124 paintings in the present exhibition, very few were in the United States in 1926. Only Blanchard's *Angelica and Medoro* (No. 4) and Poussin's the *Blind Orion* (No. 94), both in the Metropolitan Museum, the Boston Claude (No. 64), and the Detroit Poussin (No. 87), then in the Julius Haass collection, are mentioned in Réau's book. In recent years, two studies have added substantially to our knowledge of the history of French seventeenth-century painting in the United States: Denys Sutton's preface to the catalogue of the exhibition *Paris-New York: A Continuing Romance*, held in New York at Wildenstein's in 1977, and the extremely useful essay by Alexandra R. Murphy that serves as preface to the catalogue for the exhibition *Corot to Braque: French Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, held in Atlanta and Denver in 1979.

The history of collecting has been seriously studied only recently and

emphasis has usually been placed on collectors of Italian art of the Renaissance or French Impressionist paintings rather than on collectors of earlier French painting. Even figures as eminent as La Caze or the Marcille brothers elude us almost completely. American bibliography from the eighteenth century is seriously lacking, and public auctions were less frequent in the United States than in England or France.

Let us, nevertheless, cite three cases of early collecting. The colorful Eliza Bowen Jumel (1775-1865) is far from unknown in the United States. The sale of her collection on 24 April 1821 at what was then known as Harlem Heights is often cited, although the catalogue is extremely hard to find. But can we ever hope to identify the “interior of a family house, J. Steller — 1657” (no. 5; in fact, probably by Stella)? And what are we to make of the “interior of a stable, Le Nain — French school” (no. 6); the “Family at table, Le Nain” (no. 207); a “Madeleine pénitente” by Blanchard (no. 19); the “Blanchet — 1617” (no. 29); the landscapes by “Boussonet Stella” (nos. 95, 110, 144); or the “Landscape, large size, Merenzy (*sic*) and Hersé” by “Laurent Delahire” (nos. 137, 162); the “Samson” of “Dufresney” (for Dufresnoy ?), the Colombel (no. 226), the Champaignes (nos. 151, 223), the Le Bruns (nos. 121, 122), and the Mignards (nos. 70, 111, 194)?

The Joseph Bonaparte (“ex-King of Spain”) sales at Bordentown, New Jersey, 17-18 September 1845 and 25 June 1847 are better known still. But here, too, one would wish to be better informed about the present whereabouts of a number of paintings and the accuracy of the attributions made in the sale catalogues, such as, in the first sale, no. 48, “Laurent de La Hyre. St. Sebastian pierced by an Arrow. C. 3 ft. L. by 4 ft. H.”; no. 122, “Philip de Champaigne. Massanissa and Sophonisba. C. 5 ft. 2 in. L. by 6 ft. 2 in. H.”; no. 126, “Laurent de La Hyre. Palemon in the guise of a Triton expressing his love for a Nymph seated on a rock above. C. 4 ft. 2 in. L. by 4 ft. 10 in. H.”

Our last example of early collecting in the United States is the sale, with a catalogue illustrated by line engravings for the major paintings, of the collection of “Chas. De la Forest, esq. Consul Général of France,” 25 April 1849 at Henry H. Leeds and Co., 24 West 15 Street, New York, a collection rich in French artists of the seventeenth century, many well known, such as Poussin (no. 94), Le Brun (no. 95), and Dughet (no. 181), but also those less well known, such as Nicolas Mignard (no. 123) and Bourdon (nos. 179, 204). What has happened to these paintings? The history of American collecting, of its origins and its ambitions, clearly remains to be written. Let us hope this task will be taken up by a new generation of art historians.

In 1774, when the American painter John Singleton Copley (1738-1815) was in Paris, he wrote to Henry Pelham in a letter dated 2 September of his admiration for Poussin's series of the *Sacraments* in the Orléans collection, then on exhibition at the Palais-Royal. Exactly two centuries later, Benedict Nicolson (1974 [II]) created for a coherent group of Caravaggesque paintings, most likely by a French painter, one of those names of convenience so dear to the art historian, the Master of the Open-Mouthed Boys. One picture from this group is at Hartford (see Inventory); it is well known to those familiar with contemporary American art, for its image was used several times by Joseph Cornell, notably in the *Caravaggio Boy*, 1955, which was shown recently in New York (*Joseph Cornell* exh. cat., New York, 1980-1981, no. 123, ill.). It would appear that by way of Caravaggio — a rather circuitous route — American art has never ceased to be affected by French painting.

I turn now to the delicate but altogether agreeable task of thanking those who have helped in this project. First of all, my colleagues in the Department of Paintings at the Louvre, among whom I would like to mention Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, Jean-Pierre Cuzin, and Jacques Foucart. Chantal Perrier and also Claude Lesné have been of great assistance both with the catalogue and the exhibition. Without the participation of Elizabeth Kwiatkowski and the careful work of Colette Vasselin, the catalogue would never have appeared on time. The exhibition clearly would not have been possible without the constant support of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux, in particular Irène Bizot, Ute Collinet, Claire Filhos-Petit, Marguerite Rebois, Jean-Pierre Rosier, and Claude Soalhat. Many have made available to me their considerable knowledge on innumerable specific points: in France, Avigdor and Anne Arikha, Jacques Thuillier, Gilles Chomer, and Antoine Schnapper; and abroad, Marie-Nicole Boisclair, Jennifer Montagu, Margie Gordon-Christian, and Marcel Roethlisberger. My thanks also are given to the translators of the catalogue and the introductory essay, Vera Schuster and Colin B. Bailey, respectively. But it is Alastair Laing above all to whom I wish to express my gratitude, for it is he who provided, with unflagging patience and under enormous pressure of time, the desperately needed bibliographic information not available in French libraries.

The list of people in the United States who were generous with their help is longer still and includes Gail S. Davidson, Jean-Patrice Marandel, Burton B. Fredericksen, Marion Stewart, Robert L. Manning, David Rust, J. Carter Brown, Frederick J. Cummings, Edmund P. Pillsbury, John Walsh, Scott Schaefer, Gabrielle Kopelman, Jeanne K. Cadogan, and Catharine Jordan. In Chicago, Susan Wise, Richard R. Brettell, and Wallace Bradway were

particularly helpful. At the Metropolitan Museum, full cooperation was received from several departments, notably European Paintings, under the direction of Sir John Pope-Hennessy assisted by Katharine Baetjer; the Editorial Department, John P. O'Neill, editor in chief, Joan S. Ohrstrom, who assisted with the editing of the catalogue, and Reginald Gay, who edited the introductory essay by Marc Fumaroli; the registrars John Buchanan, Herbert M. Moskowitz, and Laura Rutledge Grimes; and finally John Brealey and his team of conservators. At the Metropolitan Museum, I wish to place three names before all others: its director, Philippe de Montebello, champion in the United States of French seventeenth-century painting; Alan E. Salz, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow in the Department of European Paintings, who has been the ideal collaborator and most meticulous of correspondants; and Emily Walter, Assistant Editor, who had the heavy responsibility of editing the English edition of the catalogue.

Finally, it must be noted that the exhibition could not have been realized without the cooperation and support of the directors and curators of the multitude of museums with which I have corresponded. To name but a few would be *injuste* to all the others. But to all of them I express my profound gratitude.

Pierre Rosenberg

Introduction

Des leurre qui persuadent les yeux

by Marc Fumaroli

*“Les couleurs dans la peinture sont comme
des leurre qui persuadent les yeux,
comme la beauté des vers dans la poésie.”*

Nicolas Poussin*

I.

The seventeenth century, in the words of Nietzsche, was “the century of willpower.” Not frenzied but self-confident, it “believed in itself” but was too alert ever to become complacent. Its vigilance is comparable to that of a duelist watching his opponent’s every move, of a cardplayer who

struggles against chance, of a devotee immersed in the stages of meditation, of a politician waiting for the right moment, of a general with plans drawn up who sleeps soundly on the eve of battle.

Such concentration and marshaling of inner resources is reflected in French painting of the seventeenth century. Its resonance is felt in the remarkable group of works selected by Pierre Rosenberg from American collections, a group that far from exhausts the collections in the United States, even for this period of French art. Still, it must be admitted, since this exhibition favors the generation contemporary with Richelieu and Mazarin — the years 1624 to 1661 — that while French painting captured the national genius, that same genius was not primarily interested in having its image fixed. It was too taken up with the challenge of military, political, and religious demands and was too preoccupied for the silent yet seductive life of painted forms.

It was in Italian that the poet Giambattista Marino celebrated the enchantments of sight in “The Garden of Pleasure,” Canto 6 of *Adone* (1623). Mercury, warder of Venus’s palace, ushers the goddess’s future lover into a tower dedicated to the first of the five senses and decorated with paintings:

The four walls are covered with various painted images — scenes of divine passion recounted in the poetry of antiquity. A wonderful art depicts the gods in love, with the result that truth is conquered by appearance. Although their voices are mute, one can tell when there is silence and when there is speech.

Announcing the delights of sound and touch, these Olympian paintings are a prelude to the praise bestowed by the Italian poet on the Cavalier d’Arpino, Caravaggio, Titian, Bronzino, and the Carracci. Thus, a poem published in Paris at the expense of Louis XIII and dedicated to the



Simon Vouet (1590-1649). Engraving by F. Valesio after *Portrait of a Naval Gentleman*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

* *Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin*, edited by Charles Jouanny (Paris, 1911, p. 497).

king reflected the conviction of the Italians — shared at the time by the French themselves — that painting, along with many other luxuries such as perfume, finely wrought leather, precious gems, and crystal, was above all an Italian art. Moreover, the French did not envy Italy this honor. They responded to Italy as Henry James's Bostonians in a later century responded to the Paris of Mme de Vionnet, the city that had transformed Chad — the hero of *The Ambassadors*, who was initiated by a Parisian Venus into the subtleties of the rites of love — into a modern Adonis. As in James's Boston, there were already patrons like Isabella Stewart Gardner in seventeenth-century Paris, and as in nineteenth-century Boston, they were still the exception. General feeling in France sided with Pascal, who wrote in the *Pensées*, which was published in 1670, after his death, by his friends in Port-Royal:

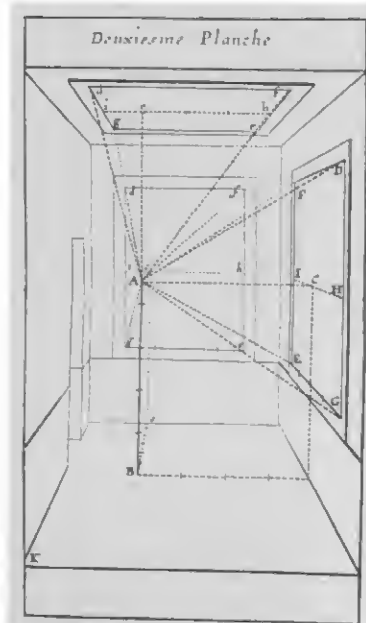
What vanity is painting! It elicits admiration for the likeness of things we do not admire at all in the original.

It is true that Pascal made this point abruptly. He did so to suppress more effectively a tendency already present among the fashionable society he sought to convert. Yet such a maxim is characteristic of French genius in the seventeenth century: after Savonarola's death such a statement could not

have been published in Italian, and for a long time after Pascal it was not translated into that language. If at the beginning of the seventeenth century there were painters of whom France would later be proud, it was a long time before their métier was acknowledged as one of the liberal arts. Despite the esteem painting was beginning to enjoy, it was only with difficulty that it freed itself from the various prejudices of French society: the aristocratic prejudice against the professional guild arts (*arts de la main*), the Augustinian prejudice against the arts of delectation, and the scholarly prejudice favoring poetry and music. There was no equivalent in France for the apologetic literature that Italian art historians and treatise writers had devoted to painting, beginning even before Alberti's *De pictura* in the fifteenth century. Nor was there a tradition in France similar to the one from which Marino's *Adone* stemmed in the seventeenth century. Art criticism and art history evolved slowly in France during the reign of Louis XIII and came to fruition under Louis XIV, trailing Italy by centuries.

Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie's poem to the glory of France, the *Galliade* (1578), had set an intellectual framework that gradually weakened during the seventeenth century. According to Le Fèvre, there were three arts, which were invented in the time of Noah in the Île-de-France; they had wandered for a long time but would finally regain their splendor and primeval purity in their country of origin. These three muses — Architecture, Music, and Poetry — are contemplative: through them the mind perceives the divine harmony of the universe. During the seventeenth century these "liberal" muses held out against the development of the art of painting, which was omitted from this trinity. Poetry would not willingly defer to Eloquence, which touched upon matters more terrestrial. Music in the French style would not allow the Italian melodic license of *seconda pratica* to gain sway without resistance. Nor would Architecture — supreme manifestation of religious, civil, and military authority and thus a reflection of the architectonic power of God — let itself be overwhelmed by the decorative arts.

Optics and perspective — connected by mathematics, the most noble of arts, to architecture — flourished in seventeenth-century Paris as they had in Florence during the quattrocento. The authorities in these scientific fields were religious scholars of the Minims order — Marin Mersenne, Jean-Pierre Nicéron, Emmanuel Maignan, and the architect Gérard Desargues. They were far from having a low regard for painting. Father Maignan decorated the convent of his religious order in Rome with an anamorphic image. Desargues was a friend of Abraham Bosse and Laurent de La Hyre, but they kept their distance. Painters were dismayed at seeing their art reduced by the pedantic Bosse to a simple exercise, subordinate to the theorist's diagrams. In seventeenth-century French mentality — willful and intel-



Abraham Bosse (1602-1676). Illustration for *Peintre Converti aux précises et universelles règles de son art... Paris, chez l'auteur 1667*. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Laurent de La Hyre (1606-1656). *Astronomy*.
Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

lectual — a sensitivity to painting as conceived by Marino was looked down upon, and consequently a certain severity in reaction to this supercilious attitude is discernible in French painting of this century.

The initiative and perseverance of the crown were decisive in vanquishing such distrust. The monarchy set painters free from the heavy protection of the guilds and cleansed them of the dishonor of practicing a mechanical art by granting them the Ordre de Saint-Michel and a certificate of *Peintre du Roi*. A well-known anecdote pictures Simon Vouet publicly initiating Louis XIII, already an excellent musician, in the art of pastel. Here was a way of proving to the gentlemen of the court that this *art de la main* was no more degrading than the music they had cultivated with ardor since the sixteenth century. Louis XIV would go so far as to grant letters of hereditary nobility to the painter Charles Le Brun. It seems, however, that public opinion resisted even the royal example.

The strangest case is perhaps that of Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux, whose *Historiettes*, published only in the early nineteenth century, was intended as an anecdotal chronicle of Parisian society under Louis XIII and during Anne of Austria's regency. Painting is barely mentioned in this work. Yet the author's cousin, the wealthy Maître des Requêtes Gédéon Tallemant, commissioned Laurent de La Hyre to decorate his Paris residence. Part of this decoration, *Allegory of Music*, is illustrated in this catalogue (No. 33). Gédéon Tallemant's father-in-law, Pierre Montauron, a banker who frequently appears in the *Historiettes*, commissioned decorations by the same artist.

Tallemant's silence does not then spring from ignorance but from prejudice. Therefore, a passion for painting, encouraged by the monarchy and cultivated by art lovers, would gain public acceptance only when a history of French art had developed and specifically French critical debates were conducted. The honor of the kingdom and a desire to strip Italy of its privileges as primary cultural model — at

first most keenly felt in the royal entourage — would play a large part in the conversion of the French to the painter's art.

Painting, however, already had a long tradition in French culture. But this magnificent native tradition, profoundly religious in inspiration, had been overwhelmed in the course of the sixteenth century by the painting of the Italian courts. It had been relegated to obscurity by the long religious and political tragedy played out at the end of the century. It would revive only in the seventeenth century at the cost of emulating Italian painting, resuming the experiments initiated by Francis I at Fontainebleau in order to perfect and go beyond this stage of imitation.

The self-imposed exile in Rome of Nicolas Poussin, the greatest French painter of the period, captures the paradox of the rebirth of French painting far from its native soil. First discovered in Paris, Poussin was encouraged by Marino to leave for Italy in 1623. In March 1642 Poussin wrote to Paul Fréart de Chantelou from Paris, where Poussin was spending a few months at the flattering invitation of Louis XIII and Richelieu:

Alas, here we are too far from the sun to discover anything of delectation. Only hideous things pass before my eyes. Yet the little that remains of earlier impressions of beauty has given me an idea for the frontispiece of the *Horace*.



After a drawing by Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665). Frontispiece for *Virgilii Maronis Opera*. Paris, Royal Press, 1641.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

In 1665, long returned to Rome, Poussin thanked Roland Fréart de Chambray for sending him his treatise on painting — one of the first signs of the rehabilitation of Poussin's art in the public mind:

I have read and examined at my leisure your book on the perfect *Idée de la peinture* [*Idée de la perfection de la peinture*, 1662], which has been sweet nourishment for my distressed soul. And I have rejoiced that you are the first Frenchman to have opened the eyes of those who saw only through other peoples' and so deluded themselves with false beliefs.

Poussin, a melancholic genius, remained attached to the vision of a France he had left before Richelieu came to power in 1624. The English traveler John Evelyn described the collection of the Hôtel de Liancourt, rue de Seine, where he was able to admire, alongside a Poussin, masterpieces by Caravaggio (*Portrait of Alof de Wignacourt*, now in the Louvre), Leonardo, and Raphael, and works by Correggio, Veronese, Titian, Bassano, Primaticcio, and even Mantegna. The Palais du Luxembourg, with its Rubens, its immense gardens, its aquaduct bringing water from Arcueil, was for the English diarist “a paradise.” Yet Poussin's phrase “to have opened the eyes” was appropriate, for it is exactly what occurred in France during his lifetime, and is fully reflected



Michelangelo da Caravaggio (1570 or 1571-1610). *Portrait of Alof de Wignacourt*. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

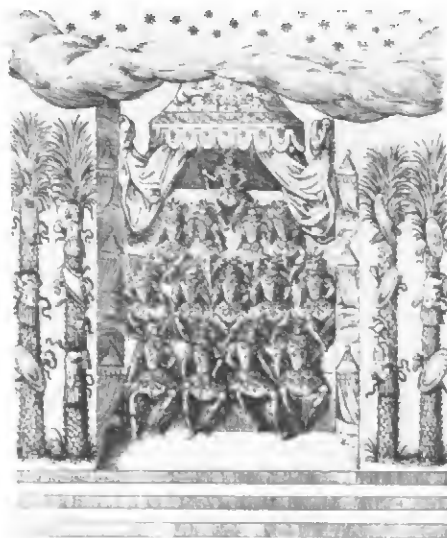


Israel Silvestre (1621-1691). *Place Royale in Paris*. Paris, Musée Carnavalet.

in this catalogue of seventeenth-century paintings. Paris witnessed a genuine pictorial Renaissance, and more and more eyes were opened to observe, to appreciate, and to understand what was happening.

Not everything is explained by the appeal of the Italian Renaissance stifling the Gothic forms that had magnificently expressed the French tradition nor by the crisis of the religious wars halting the *aggiornamento* undertaken by Francis I. In the seventeenth century the French court resided increasingly in Paris, and the city then became what it had been under Saint Louis and Charles V — and what it has remained — the political and cultural capital of the nation. Paris was a metropolis of Gothic art in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with its civil and religious buildings and workshops of goldsmiths, makers of stained glass, and manuscript illuminators, but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the city was eclipsed in these artistic endeavors. According to the sophisticated standards set by the Italian courts, Paris had to learn how to become a modern capital of the arts as well as of high society.

Henry IV was an enthusiastic builder and provided the impetus for the modernization of architecture at the beginning of the century. But the traditional elites of the city — the parliamentary *haute bourgeoisie* and the old aristocracy — did not immediately acquiesce in this transformation. Paris, a university city with its powerful Parlement, had no difficulty in remaining one of the vital centers of European intellectual life. Its magistrates with their libraries, their humanist learning, and their correspondence with European scholars placed the city at the head of international culture. In this regard the civil wars of the sixteenth century did not undermine the city's eminence. But the austerity of the libraries — marked by a monastic tradition even in lay circles — did not combine well with patronage of the arts, especially when these arts were linked with the worldly luxury of Renaissance Italy.



Ballet of Renaud's release (1617).
Godfrey and his knights in their pavilion of gold cloth.

At first glance there seems little reason for the court to have been so reserved vis-à-vis luxury. It was bound to cultivate it for reasons of prestige, and a taste for such extravagance was instilled by two Italian queens, Catherine and Marie de' Medici. The Palais de Luxembourg, erected by Marie de' Medici to her personal glory, was like an island of the most sumptuously modern Italianism in the Gothic Paris of Louis XIII. Yet the French nobility, whose martial tendencies had resurfaced during the civil wars, needed to be educated in the arts once again. The court ballet fulfilled this role: danced by the king and his gentlemen from winter until Shrove Tuesday, the ballet was an elaborate display of grace and splendor, practiced until late in the reign of Louis XIII. Yet the court ballet — continuing the tradition inaugurated by the academies of Charles IX and Henry III — totally ignored the art of painting; rather, it synthesized the three muses celebrated in the *Galliade* — Architecture, Music, and Poetry. Once the ambitions of the sixteenth-century pioneers were gradually forgotten, this synthesis surrendered itself more easily to satire and burlesque. The extravagant dress of the court youth — prohibited to no avail by numerous royal edicts — mimicked the display of the modern ballets. The ballets themselves influenced imagination, gesture, and hearing — but they did not train the acuity of the eye.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, patronage of the arts did not exist among either the parliamentary bourgeoisie or the old aristocracy — the former erudite and austere, the latter somewhat inclined to celebrations that

compensated for the brutality of the civil wars. Painting, however, needed an environment of enlightened art lovers, trained to appreciate and compare talents, as had developed in the Florence of the Medici, the Rome of Leo X and Clement VII (both Medici), and the Venice of the gentlemen merchants. Nor did a fashion for collecting exist among the scholarly parliamentarians or the hereditary nobility before 1630. Yet for humanists like Poussin or Stella, regular access to galleries in which astute collectors had assembled antique sculpture and Renaissance painting was indispensable for the liberal exercise of their art.

The Medici family had started out as bankers. Indeed, the greatest achievements of Parisian painting under Louis XIII and Anne of Austria — apart from commissions for the Louvre, the Palais du Luxembourg, and the Palais Cardinal — were displayed in the private residences constructed by patrons of new wealth: the Bullion, Tallemant, Lambert, and Montauron families. Pointel, one of the aged Poussin's most assiduous patrons, was a Parisian banker. His other patrons — Chantelou, for example — were humanist magistrates, but they had passed into the service of the crown and frequented both diplomatic and courtly circles.

The rebirth of French painting owed as much to economic expansion as it did to the successful policies of the monarchy. Although a history of French patronage comparable to Francis Haskell's work on Italy has yet to be written, it is probable that the example of the Medici (dukes in Florence, popes in Rome, queens in France) also had a great significance for individuals — noble lords such as the duc de Liancourt and above all the financiers, execrated in public opinion, who were sufficiently confident of the power of money to place it at the service of princely luxury. Similar



Abraham Bosse.
The Reformed Lady.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Abraham Bosse.
The Reformed Gentleman.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Simon Vouet. *Allegory of Wealth*.
Paris, Musée du Louvre.

circumstances would arise in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, at a time of prodigious prosperity following the end of the Civil War, to inspire a passion for building and collecting among such magnates as Frick, Morgan, and Vanderbilt and in particulier among the demanding clients of Joseph Duveen and Bernard Berenson. Simon Vouet's allegorical painting *La Richesse* (*Wealth*) in the Louvre, perhaps his masterpiece, is the tribute of an artist — aware of puritan prejudice against the sensuous quality of his art — to a wealthy patron who dared challenge the old prejudice, no less puritan, against money. This supercilious attitude toward the newly rich and their artists is probably the key to many silences in the literature of the time.

It is quite possible that wealth, while silent, “opened eyes” to the talents of the French painters inspired by Italy more effectively than the erudition of scholars or the established customs of military caste: such wealth was both bold and determined. It is also true that under Louis XIII luxury too much in evidence was deemed inappropriate. For many excellent reasons the spirit of Paris was elsewhere. It is important to grasp the idea of this “elsewhere” not only to appreciate the resonances of French painting at that time but also to accept a paradox that is still poorly understood today — the paradox of a painting that is very French and already quite brilliant but found essentially outside France, particularly in Rome. During the seventeenth century Paris was in the process of becoming what Rome had been for artists since the end of the fifteenth — what Edmond de Goncourt later would call the “artist’s home,” redolent with inspiring memories and illustrious presences from the past, or what

Mario Praz, in turn, would call the “house of life.” The Parisian “spirit of place” now demanded that the French capital — previously the intellectual shrine of medieval Christianity — become the modern Alexandria. But the city opened itself only slowly to the profane joys of sight. It was not until the time of Antoine Watteau in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, during the regency of Philip II, duc d’Orléans, that it wholeheartedly embraced this new phase of its history, whose opening chapters are presented to us in this exhibition.

II.

In the history of France the seventeenth century was the *grand siècle*. It remains so today for the style of its literary masterpieces — the works of Corneille, Racine, Bossuet — which suited the majesty of the court of Louis XIV, the *grand roi*. For the historian it is also the *grand siècle* because it established the kingdom’s position of power in Europe through its political and military authority and the prestige of its language, literature, and scholarship, as well as its religious and philosophical thought. At that time the prestige and strength of a country was determined by the size of its population and its agricultural resources. In this sense the kingdom of France — described by Hugo Grotius in the dedication to Louis XIII in *De jure belli et pacis* (1625) as “the most beautiful kingdom after the kingdom of heaven” — represented for Europe during that age what the United States exemplifies to the free world today: a colossus.

With 20 million inhabitants France was as densely populated as the rest of Europe added together. Because of its fertile soil and moderate climate, “sweet France” appeared to be an agricultural oasis in comparison with its less fortunate neighbors. It was able to keep its large population from destitution and famine and to endow its clergy, nobility, and third estate with considerable revenues. France at least had the resources to do this when not ravaged by war and epidemics, but such periods were rare. Despite outstanding advantages in manpower and natural resources, the country had almost ceased to exist as a self-contained political entity by the end of the sixteenth century because of the long and ruinous civil wars.

The causes of the political instability that had shaken the kingdom so violently under the Valois dynasty (Francis I — Henry III) did not disappear under the Bourbons (Henry IV — Louis XIV). The most serious problem was feudal anarchy, which the French kings had endeavored to curb but which during the sixteenth century was fed by new forces — those of the Calvinist Reformation inside the realm and of the Holy Roman Empire outside — threatening royal authority, which was the keystone of good government and the

supreme symbol of the nation's identity. The expansion within France of the Calvinist Reformation resulted in dividing the country into two hostile factions, with a minority (but not in terms of talent) looking to Geneva and a majority to Rome as spiritual center. This was the pretext for various feudal clans in both religious groups to settle old scores and thereby compromise royal authority still further.

Besides the internal disarray there were threats from abroad. The empire of Charles V, divided between two allied dynasties — the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs — literally encircled the kingdom and presented France with the choice of being absorbed or committing all its strength to a war that would break the empire's hold. Until the reign of Louis XIII the French monarchy, seriously weakened by the civil wars, was in no position to launch a full-scale attack on its enemies. Since the king of Spain and the Austrian emperor were viewed as the strongest defenders of the Catholic cause, a veritable fifth column set to work among the ranks of the seditious to gain support in France for the Hapsburgs at the height of the religious wars of the sixteenth century and during the civil wars of the seventeenth.

The Catholic rebels often were led by foreign princes, such as members of the Guise family, youngest branch of the House of Lorraine, whose sovereign was the German emperor. After the assassination of Henry III in 1589, a prince of the House of Lorraine and a Spanish infanta both came close to governing the kingdom of France and subjecting it to the rule of the Hapsburgs. Consequently feudal anarchy, fed by religious rivalry and foreign intrigue, threatened both the unity and survival of the kingdom, the strongest in Europe, and reduced it to impotence and the brink of collapse.

The longest and most violent assault on the kingdom came after the assassination of Henry III during the siege of Paris, when the Catholic league, with Spanish support, bitterly fought against the sovereign and rightful heir to the throne. That heir, the Calvinist Henry of Navarre, first of the Bourbon line in France and future Henry IV, spent the five years between 1589 and 1594 trying to win back his kingdom, city by city, and was finally successful only after his conversion to Catholicism in 1593. This protracted period of disorder, plunder, and carnage had an effect on France much the same as the Thirty Years War had on Germany in the next century, after which Germany reconstituted its strength only in the course of the eighteenth. France, more prosperous and less shattered by the upheaval, nonetheless had fallen twenty years behind the rest of Europe by the end of the sixteenth century when the Valois reign drew to its tragic close. The country would recuperate from these years only in the following century, but the recovery was not without serious relapses.

After the conciliating reign of Henry IV, himself assassinated in 1610, civil and feudal disorder erupted again

during the regency of Marie de' Medici. The revolt was fully suppressed only when Richelieu assumed undivided power in 1630, but serious disturbances flared up again after his death in 1642. Then, in a period of open warfare against Austria and Spain, the regent, Anne of Austria, and her first minister, Mazarin, also had to defend the throne of Louis XIV from the attacks of rebellious princes and Parlements supported by the Spanish. During the ten years between 1648 and 1658 the "good French people" (as those attached to the royal cause were called) thought they had returned to the time of Henry III and the Guise family. Poussin wrote in a letter to Chantelou in May 1649:

I had the honor to receive your letter of 1 April, in which you informed me of the terrible state of affairs in our poor France. We are indeed the laughing stock of everybody, and no one will take pity on us when we are beset by all the troubles of the world. We are compared to the Neapolitans and shall be treated as they were.

Still there is even more reason to fear the future, which we don't dare imagine, than the present state of affairs. But let those who are most involved worry about such things and let us hide away, if we are able, and escape mad Cyclops' bloody hands. I would have started work on the large version of your *Virgin* had it not been for the news we receive daily that evil Frenchmen are causing chaos in our city by their enraged speeches. We can expect nothing better than the ruin of the city. Our enemies boast that it will soon serve as an example to others by its total destruction. For all these reasons I believe that you have more important things on your mind than decorating your house with new paintings.

Paris was in a state of permanent political fever until Mazarin's victory over the Fronde and the ascension to the throne of Louis XIV himself. Yet the social climate was no longer similar to the sixteenth century, with its convictions that both the dynasty and the world were about to end — as Poussin, from a distance, imagined it to be. Richelieu's political genius, at one with the destiny of the new Bourbon dynasty, was responsible for a complete change in direction of the country's affairs. During his ministry — contested from 1624 to 1630, but all-powerful from 1630 to 1642 — he was not satisfied with ruthlessly silencing feudal agitators and suppressing what remained of the Calvinist's military strength; he actually committed France, not yet fully recovered, to a war against Spain and Austria. Even more important, Richelieu brought together a group of politically expert administrators — a tradition maintained after his death — who conferred remarkable efficiency upon the exercise of royal power. This high-quality political and administrative task force consisting of Servien, Lionne, Tellier, and Colbert was centered on Mazarin and then Louis XIV and enabled the kingdom to develop the apparatus of the first modern state. The administration was capable of weathering the crisis of the Fronde and then establishing a stable regime that was not only powerful but respected. The

Treaty of Westphalia with Germany (1648) and the Peace of the Pyrenees with Spain (1659), both concluded on terms that were extremely favorable to France, showed Europe that the recovery of the state had finally prevailed over the losses and hindrances incurred through civil disturbance. Mazarin died in 1661, bequeathing to the young Louis XIV a well-governed kingdom capable for the first time since Louis XI of exercising abroad a hegemony consistent with its size and material resources. In little more than a half century the desperate social and political legacy bequeathed by Henry III had been transformed into the apotheosis of the Sun King, exemplifying the pride of the nation and shining over Europe with all the insolence of youth and talent.

III.

The extraordinary political and military recovery of France in the seventeenth century, from the religious wars of the Valois to the glory of Versailles, has an epic quality about it. At stake was nothing less than the identity of France, only fully secured at that time in collective identification with the person of the king and only fully articulated in the royal language. The “defense and illustration” of the French language came before that of French painting not only in accordance with the scale of values then dominant but also as a matter of urgency. The destiny of these two types of expression — these two languages, as it were — was more closely linked than is often supposed, and not merely in terms of the humanist principle derived from Horace, *ut pictura poesis* (“a poem is like a picture”).

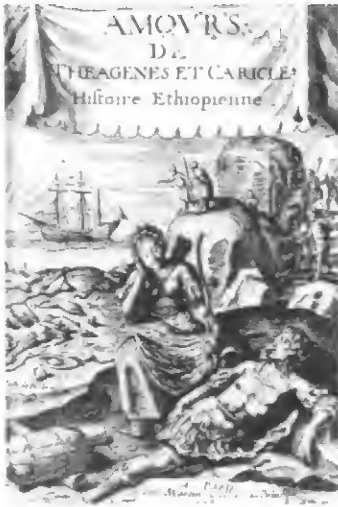
The vernacular had been made obligatory as the language for all official acts of the kingdom since the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts in 1539. Thus, the French language became a royal symbol in the same way as the lily in the French coat of arms or the holy phial at the coronation at Reims. Like these, its perfection and prestige would manifest the worth and honor of the name of France. Yet during the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth, three European languages were vying for acceptance as the language of culture and international communication, and French did not rank among them. The three, roughly in order of chronological importance, were Latin, Italian, and Spanish. The position of Latin derived not only from its importance as the official language of the Roman church; in the seventeenth century it was still the major language of international learning and was also in wide use in diplomacy. Italian had gained its illustrious reputation throughout Europe for more than two centuries through the works of Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch; because of the sophisticated culture of the courts of Florence, Mantua, and Ferrara, it was the language

identified with etiquette and the pleasures of worldly life. Sustained by the military and political power of the Spanish empire, the Spanish language also enjoyed a period of hegemony.

The influence of Italian culture was felt particularly in the French court, where two Florentine princesses ruled successively, with powers of regent — Catherine de’ Medici, mother of the last three Valois kings, and Marie de’ Medici, mother of Louis XIII. In the interval between military campaigns, from the onset of winter to the coming of Lent, a French gentleman of the court could not hold his own in society if he was not conversant with the language and style of Petrarch and was not acquainted with Castiglione’s *Cortegiano*, Giovanni della Casa’s *Galateo*, and Machiavelli’s *Principe*, as well as the principal episodes of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso’s *Aminta* and *Gerusalemme Liberata*, works that provided most of the themes for the royal ballets. The ascendancy of Italian in the French court was such that the poet laureate from 1615 to 1623 — pensioned more richly by the king and his mother than any French poet could hope to be — was the Italian Giambattista Marino. It was in Paris that he published his masterpiece, *Adone*, a luxurious edition dedicated to the king with a French preface by Jean Chapelain. This long narrative poem, in twenty-six cantos, retells the love entanglement of Venus and Adonis. As Chapelain sensitively noted in his preface, the poem’s originality lay in Marino’s celebration of luxury, sensual delight, and peace rather than the military themes of epic



F. Chauveau (1613-1676). Frontispiece for *Cabinet de M. de Scudéry, gouverneur de Notre Dame de la Garde*. Paris, Augustin Courbé, 1646.



Crispin de Passe (c. 1593-after 1670). Frontispiece for *Amours de Théagène et Chariclée traduite par... Maître Jacques Amyot, revue, corrigée et augmentée... par le sieur d'Audiguier*. Paris, Martin Collet, 1626. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Frontispiece for *Métamorphoses ou l'Asne d'or* de L. Apulée philosophe platonique, œuvre d'excellente invention et de singulière doctrine, translated by J. de Montlyard. Paris, S. Thiboust, 1637. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Illustration for *Métamorphoses ou l'Asne d'or* de L. Apulée.... Paris, 1637. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

poets like Ariosto and Tasso. Thus, Italy, dominated by Spain and under the authority of the clergy, was able to bestow images of its Alexandrian achievements on a France tormented by the prospect of civil war and preoccupied with the defense of its frontiers.

Recalling *The Dream of Poliphilus* — the popular French translation of Colonna's strange allegory *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published at the end of the fifteenth century — *Adone* remained throughout the century a model of sensual delight protected from the ravages of history by the splendor of the arts, among which painting was included. The mythological and sensual world of *Adone* served as a rallying point for those alienated by Richelieu's iron will or Mazarin's authoritarianism. The French poets Théophile de Viau, Saint-Amant, Tristan L'Hermite, and Georges de Scudéry, in the service of feudal princes in open rebellion in the court, devoted themselves to translating the principal motifs of the *Adone* into French. Marino's *Galleria* (1620), a collection of poems that was dedicated to the praise of Italian paintings and was imitated by Scudéry in his *Cabinet* (1646), was an important statement in support of painting, henceforth associated with peace and the pleasures of wealth and the arts, thus bringing man nearer the condition of pagan gods. It was a powerful corrective to French severity and its hostility toward the pleasures of the senses, which were assumed to corrupt the traditional military and Christian virtues of the French.

From the time of Catherine de' Medici's regency the commedia dell'arte troupes, emanating from the courts of Mantua and Ferrara, came most frequently to the French court to entertain the sovereign and courtiers with their farces, comedies, and tragedies. It was due in part to these troupes, the Gelosi and the Fedeli, and to their leaders, in particular the beautiful and learned actress-poet Isabella Andreini and her son, Giovambattista, that the French prejudice against the theater began to diminish, allowing a French court theater to develop, with the encouragement of Richelieu, in the first third of the seventeenth century.

French was also in competition with the Spanish language. In the first half of the seventeenth century in the English and Italian courts, as well as in France, the traditional enemy of Spain, it was common practice to speak and read Spanish fluently. The European vogue for Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana*, Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, and Cervantes's *Don Quixote* and the influence of the theater of the Siglo de Oro made the notion of Spanish as the international court idiom entirely plausible.

The success of Italian and Spanish letters left the glory of the Valois poets Ronsard and Du Bartas far behind in all except the minor courts of Lorraine and Savoy, yet did so without undermining the authority enjoyed by Latin in the international circles of humanists and theologians. The French language ranked modestly in this context, and France's role in European culture — similar to its political

and military role in international affairs — was not in keeping with the country's power and prestige or with the number and quality of its elites.

At the end of the sixteenth century the contribution of the French language was not unimportant, and it was already taking on an intermediary role for the various cultures of the period. France became a kingdom of translators. Although translation at the time was considered a somewhat servile function, an excellent tradition was established while French culture awaited happier times. It was through the many translations published in Paris and the provinces that northern Europe, won over to the Reformation, gained access to the literature of the Catholic south, most notably the classical Greek and Latin writers. Northern Europe became acquainted with Plutarch's *Lives* and Greek pastoral romances such as Heliodorus' *Theagenes and Chariclea* and Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* in the translations of Jacques Amyot. In the synthesis offered by Montaigne's *Essais*, Shakespeare grasped the essence of antique philosophy, and it was from French translations of the Italian short-story writers that he frequently derived the subjects for his plays. Because of the immense output of a translator such as Gabriel Chappuys, Italian treatise writers on politics and civility were read in Holland and Germany.

The mediating function of French culture in Europe, which was already discerned in its translations, was also manifested in the importance of the print market in Paris, the

finest in Europe. This market was supplied by Parisian workshops, reproducing works of art existing in France, and by workshops of French engraving at Rome, reflecting the development of painting in that artistic capital. The Parisian market distributed the current repertory of forms and style throughout Europe. But translation and engraving were unjustly considered lesser crafts. French ambitions aimed higher: the country should be not merely an intermediary but an exemplar.

In the interludes during the civil war Henry III had assembled, as the Académie du Palais, the poets, writers, magistrates, prelates, and lords and ladies of his court interested in intellectual concerns. One of the Académie's chief objectives was to cultivate, in exemplary fashion, a French rhetoric capable of rivaling that of the greatest orators and philosophers of classical antiquity and to raise the French language to the dignity of Latin. But it was only under Richelieu, dedicated to making the kingdom preeminent in all areas, that a conscious policy involving language was instituted and became fruitful.

It was not by chance that Richelieu's literary patronage went hand in hand with a patronage of the arts that revived the tradition of Francis I and Fontainebleau. What Colbert openly wished for in 1669 ("We must see to it that France has everything of beauty in Italy") and what the *Mercurie Galant* considered an accomplished fact at the end the century ("It can be said that Italy is in France and that Paris is a new



D. Rabel (c. 1578-1637). Frontispiece for the third part of *L'Astrée* by Honoré d'Urfé, Paris, Antoine de Sommaville and Augustin Courbé, 1632. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Grégoire Huret (1606-1670). Frontispiece for *Peintures Morales* by Father P. Le Moynes, S.J. Paris, Cramoisy, 1640, I. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Grégoire Huret. *Paradise of the Faithful Dead*. Illustration for *Peintures Morales* by Father P. Le Moynes, S.J. Paris, Cramoisy, 1643, II. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Rome”) was already present in the minds of Richelieu and his collaborators. Quite simply literature came before the fine arts as a matter of priority and political interest. French ascension to cultural hegemony was achieved by the pen rather than the brush, by the eloquence of its writers rather than that of its painters.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century two works had appeared in French that gave a clear idea of the kind of literary genius France was capable of. Montaigne’s *Essais* (1580-1595) recast the wisdom of antiquity into the French vernacular with an analytical strength and freedom of style that were quite modern. The first part of Honoré d’Urfé’s *Astrée* appeared in 1607; through the meanderings of its elaborate intrigue, the novel translated into French the literary experience of the Spanish and Italian pastoral and recreated the ethic of worldly civility of the Renaissance courts. In many respects these two works stemmed from translations and were vulgarizations of classical models. But they went far beyond the passive character of ordinary translation, in the way that the inventive engravings of Grégoire Huret or Abraham Bosse in Louis XIII’s reign or the landscapes engraved by the Pérelle family in Louis XIV’s were original works and not mere imitations.

Montaigne and d’Urfé asserted creatively not only the French language’s capacity for mediation but also its power of selection and stylization, which imposed a French hallmark on riches thus brought together and reordered — not only from other European cultures but from classical authors as well. French literary form was beginning to establish itself as an intermediary for various European languages and as a fusion of the scholarly culture in Latin and the worldly culture in the vernacular.

French literature set the pattern for French art, which, twenty years later, captured the genius for synthesis and transformation that became the major asset of French authority in Europe. Under Louis XIII the transition from translating to creating affirmed itself brilliantly, although at the cost of sacrificing the heritage of sixteenth-century prose and poetry, considered too provincial. The royal language, a metropolitan language and no longer one common tongue among many, thus declared itself heir to classical Latin.

The case for French replacing Latin as the language of philosophical and scholarly inquiry and Italian and Spanish as the expression of worldly elegance and literary imagination was supported by Guez de Balzac’s and Vincent Voiture’s *Lettres*, the tragedies of Corneille, and Antoine Arnauld’s and Descartes’s theological and philosophical treatises. The Académie Française, incorporated in 1635 by Richelieu and Louis XIII, encouraged this transition officially and institutionally, endowing the literary blossoming in the years 1624-1642 with a diplomatic and political significance. It was the same period in which French painting was reborn, also encouraged by the court.

IV.

In the background of the founding of the Académie Française — more than ten years before one was organized specifically for painting and sculpture — a great humanist and Christian myth was taking shape, one that had seized the imagination of the French monarchy since Francis I but came to life only in the reign of Henry IV and was finally fully manifested under Louis XIII. In a prayer to Henry IV, written in 1607 in a Latinate style by François de Malherbe, the poet invoked a golden age:

The terror of his name will make our cities strong,
No more will we guard our walls and our homes,
And the night watches in the turrets of our towers will cease.
Iron, put to better use, will cultivate the land,
And the nation which trembled with fright at the war
Will hear the drum beat no longer, except in dance.

Breaking with the customs of his century, he will banish
The vices, the idleness, and the foolish delights
Which led us to past misfortunes.
Virtue will return, with the laurel crowned,
And her just favors bestowed upon true merit,
Will reawaken the excellence of the arts.

With the faith of his ancestors and his love and awe
Of You eternally marked upon his soul,
He will not be satisfied by mere acts of piety.
Your glory and Your power will extend through him
Who values nothing as dearly as obedience to You:
Where You have him reign, he will serve You.

Then You will give us back a sweeter destiny,
And we will not see again those bad years
Which brought tears even for the happiest among us.
The harvests will wear out our sickles,
And the fruits will be even greater than the flowers.

In this vision of a return to an ideal age of peace and prosperity — a leitmotif of the court ballets under Louis XIII — the fate of France was implicitly linked with that of a Rome torn apart by civil wars in the time of Caesar and Pompey. It was a vision that relied upon this precedent to herald the return to France of an Augustus Caesar who would close the doors of the Temple of Janus, making war obsolete. Augustus’ reign was contemporary with the early life of Jesus, and Virgil’s fourth eclogue to the glory of Augustus, exemplified in the line “*Iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna*” (“Now comes the virgin, Saturn reigns again”), had been interpreted since the Middle Ages as prophesying the coming of the Redeemer. In the imagination of loyal Frenchmen — in this instance imagination imposing itself as will — the French monarchy would be called upon to repeat the miracle of the Augustan age but in a Christian context and in the language of the realm.

The century of Augustus was also that of Maecenas, a name synonymous with generous patronage, and of his

friends, the poets Horace and Virgil. The return of Christian civilization to a classical and Latinate beauty emulating the golden age of Augustus was one of the principal inspirations of the European Renaissance. In adopting and nationalizing this myth, the French monarchy linked its destiny to a collective nostalgia that went beyond the confines of the kingdom, posing as a classical model recognizable to all of Europe. The determination to be recognized as such an exemplar meant the sacrifice of not only a glorious Gothic heritage but also of the first French Renaissance, which was considered too pedantic. Also necessary was the creation of a language purged of provincialisms and archaisms, improper to a crown worthy of classical Rome. But these sacrifices were consistent with an aesthetic ideal at once antique and Christian. The literary style of the Latin golden age had expressed above all an Attic beauty, pure and luminous but of a grandeur shrouded in simplicity and a seriousness tempered by humor and urbanity. It was a beauty that was also modest, and here Attic aesthetic and Christian ethic fused.

Augustus had exiled Ovid from Rome probably because Ovid's sensuous Alexandrianism had destroyed the balance of Greek beauty and Roman virtue, which was the cornerstone of Augustan culture. The Rome that Richelieu and Colbert wanted Paris to reincarnate was also to stay a Christian capital, where the arts had to be kept within the bounds of decency. The French concept of beauty presupposed a polemic against other modern attempts to rival the literature of antiquity. If France's role was to rediscover the perfection of the first century B.C., then Italian Mannerism and Baroque excesses — which too closely imitated the picturesque, pathetic, and sensual elements in Latin decadence — would have to be eliminated. For reasons of honor the French monarchy wanted to emulate the healthiest aspects of antique beauty in a manner compatible with the properties of an exacting Christianity and untarnished by decadence. With the Roman classics of the first century as model, the literature of the French court from Richelieu's time onward attempted to transcend recent Italian and Spanish literary experience and earn a place beside the most admired achievements of Latin culture.

Again literature claimed precedence over the fine arts; yet, through the impetus of royal patronage, there was a similar development within art as well. What Jacques Thuillier has called the Atticism of such painters as Le Sueur and La Hyre was a sifting of elements of contemporary Roman culture most in keeping with the classicizing intentions of the French court. Both sacred and secular themes were treated according to the nature of the subject, but in a style that subtly mitigated the distance between the modest charms of a *Venus* and the gentle severity of a *Life of Saint Bruno*.

It was through this Atticism, encouraged by Richelieu, that a specifically French aesthetic was formed, but with the

later appearance of masterpieces sponsored by the French court — Racine's tragedies, Molière's comedies, Boileau's *Satires*, La Fontaine's *Fables*, and the operas of Quinault and Lully — it became clear that France had produced works of originality in spite of Latin sources. These modern Christian works were inspired by ancient models without being pedantic imitations of classicism, and were imbued with freshness and rediscovered youth. Inseparable from the language, this particularly French taste impressed itself on the rest of Europe as a universal standard rather than a national style, inheriting its economy from Latin, its gentleness from Italian, its brilliance from Spanish, and its discretion and moral gravity from Christianity: it was a style that included all of these elements without harming any of them.

V.

It is a little strange to observe the birth of classicism, which owed so much to a determined cultural policy in support of royal glory and yet consistently maintained a character of spontaneity. By what paradox had French genius, with the impetus of a small elite, been able to rekindle the spirit of Chartres, the *Roman de la Rose*, and Jean Fouquet's *Descent from the Cross* and also remain in harmony with the spirit of Virgil, Horace, and Cicero? The answer is to be found in Montesquieu and in the principle of honor he considered the driving force of monarchical government. Paraphrasing him, honor sets in motion and unites all parts of the body politic; it thus happens that everyone seeks beauty, believing that he is seeking the individual and self-interested conception he has of it.

This image of a universal system was motivated by a belief in the preeminence of rank and a nobility of birth. Seventeenth-century France existed in a condition of emulation, in which honor was continually contested and therefore could easily assume a quarrelsome character. It is important to understand that this sensitivity to individual honor was meant to demonstrate categorically that the model of conduct one had inherited was no less exemplary than that followed by others. The challenge of two individuals staring fixedly at each other was not so much that of two people trying to inflict deeper wounds — the egalitarian resentment of modern society — as it was that of two absolute certainties confronting each other for the palm of excellence. The expression caught in seventeenth-century portraits, which is too easily interpreted as Baudelairean sadness, is, in fact, an expression of honor. The spectator is called upon to witness the sitter as appropriately represented in terms of rank, order, age, and function; nobody can make him defer from



Claude Vignon (1593-1670).
Portrait of a Young Man (self-portrait).
Caen, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



Simon Vouet.
Self-Portrait.
Arles, Musée Réattu.

the position he maintains — whose limits and rights he knows equally well.

Stand in front of Le Sueur's *Young Man with a Sword* (No. 52) or Blanchard's *Portrait of a Young Man* (No. 4). Self-image concerns these young gentlemen less than the way in which they are regarded by others. They calmly seek a regard that dares challenge them to be themselves and that they, in turn, are ready to challenge. The experience is similar when one looks at Champaigne's *Portrait of Omer II Talon* (No. 16): the imperative of appearance, in terms of the full function of his office and the just appreciation of his rank, has become a condition of existence for this important magistrate from the Parlement of Paris. As in Jean Fouquet's *Portrait of Guillaume Juvénal des Ursins* in the Louvre, the beauty of this painting lies in a spare painterly style that enhances the masterful bearing of one who knows he is exemplary within his rank of society.

Montesquieu had something further to say on the subject: "Honor can inspire the finest actions, and supported by the power of law it can lead to the purpose of government, like virtue itself." On a national scale this principle was at work in the flowering of both a royal authority and a literature, which aimed at setting an example rather than following one, especially in a France challenged by Spanish power and Italian culture. The same principle also lay behind the Catholic Renaissance of the seventeenth century, inspired by a faith inextricably bound to a notion of honor.

French Catholicism, proud of a lineage it traced to the apostles, was assailed at the beginning of the seventeenth century from many sides simultaneously. By increased piety, theological reflection, and discipline, French Catholicism was eager to prove to the Calvinists — who were

guaranteed citizenship and certain religious freedoms by the Edict of Nantes (1598) at the end of the civil wars — that it was the sole and authentic repository of the Christian faith. In comparison to other Catholic nations that were spared such heresy (Spain and Italy, for example) and were able to implement the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) in clerical and lay society — Catholic France was impatient to make good the time lost during the civil wars. The French monarchy could not be expected to initiate any changes. It was jealous of the extension of papal power involved in the reforms of the council and obstinately refused to enforce these reforms in what they deemed the "most Christian" kingdom. The esteem of French Catholicism would be restored by private initiatives and by a kind of Christian



Abraham Bosse. *Clothing the Naked*.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Abraham Bosse. *Visiting Prisoners*.
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674).
Ex-Voto. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

civism, in which the honor of God and kingdom were fused.

Christian enthusiasm in seventeenth-century France led to new religious orders and seminaries and an increase in the number of priests and missionaries. Texts of the early councils and the writings of the Church Fathers were published in learned editions, and for a wider public there were numerous treatises on spirituality and hagiography as well as volumes of religious poetry. There was also a greater dedication to charitable works. All this was an attempt to present Christian France as a model not only for heretics but also for the Catholic world at large. French honor was so intense on religious questions that it gave rise to a Catholic purism: the strict morality and the influential theology of grace of Port-Royal. Just as royal politics and patronage were inspired by the myth of France to re-create an Augustan golden age, in the religious sphere Gallican Christianity was sustained by a similar myth in its efforts to institute ecclesiastical changes and assert itself as the leader of a Catholic Europe purged of decadence. The fiction entails presumptions about the history of Christianity in its first centuries and about the church of the martyrs and the apostolic fathers; it was preserved in the church of the Gauls, which would be called upon to bring that early tradition back to life. Port-Royal — for which Philippe de Champaigne, the least Italianate French artist of the seventeenth century, painted — desired above all to perfect this Gallican fiction, making it an austere and unyielding doctrine.

This conjunction of the two myths cannot be overstated, since it is necessary to offset the naïve notion of a European Baroque explaining everything in the seventeenth century. Along with the ideals of classical Rome, France definitely had recourse to Christian antiquity — of which Poussin's

Seven Sacraments is the consummate plastic expression. In both myths the French sense of identity and the peculiarly French notion of honor were united by a preference for simplicity, sobriety, and grandeur — exempt from pathetic expression and excessive sensual appeal. The spirituality characteristic of French Catholicism at the time accords deeply, on another level, with that of classical French literature. The painters of the generation of La Hyre, Stella, and Bourdon manifest a similar aesthetic in their treatment of mythological and secular subjects, on the one hand, and in their conception of religious subjects, on the other. In lay and religious matters French style developed at least as much through its opposition to Spanish and Italian tendencies as it did through references to an ideal model cast from pagan and Christian antiquity.

Both the congregation of priests of the French oratory founded by Cardinal Bérulle and the erudite and devoted community brought together at Port-Royal by Saint-Cyran were hostile to popular emotional forms of piety. They were also on guard against the excesses of mysticism, more easily tolerated by Spanish and Italian Catholicism. Yet the moral rigor and eminently rational nature of Gallican Christianity were moderated by a Christian civility and gentility of behavior in keeping with the example of Saint Francis de Sales. It was tempered even more profoundly by their image of the charitable and peaceable morality of the early Christians. This form of French piety, hostile to ostentation and fervid imagination, was disdainful of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), which was suspected of Hispanic and Italianate



Nicolas Poussin. *The Confirmation*.
Duke of Rutland collection, Belvoir Castle (Great Britain).



Nicolas Poussin. *The Miracle of Saint Francis Xavier*. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Simon Vouet. Engraving by M. Dorigny after *The Madonna of the Jesuits*.



Jacques Stella (1596-1657). *Christ and the Learned Men*. Notre-Dame-des-Andelys.

sympathies. This was not a hazard for Sublet des Noyers, Richelieu's Surintendant des Bâtiments, who was close to the Jesuits. One of his most cherished undertakings was to commission the three greatest contemporary French artists, all trained in Rome, to decorate in Italianate style the chapel of the Jesuit novitiate in Paris. If only through the Jesuit order, a leaven of Italian Baroque was introduced into French Catholicism. It is questionable, however, whether this influence was strong enough to eclipse the essential resonance of Gallican spirituality, whose aesthetics of moderation rebuked the extremes of Spanish and Italian devotion.

The richness of France's religious and secular culture at that time is not fully explained by the traditions of Augustan classicism and early Christianity. Yet they do indicate the uniqueness of a culture that obstinately endeavored to confer the universality of an idea upon a particular nation. Such an endeavor met with considerable resistance; yet this resistance, far from undermining it, offered it nourishment, mitigating its excessively severe aspects.

The minor courts of lords in opposition to Richelieu and Mazarin were receptive to foreign fashions and skeptical of official seriousness; they were the reserves the royal court could draw upon in order to protect itself from atrophying. During the reign of Louis XIII poets and dramatists imbued with the spirit of Marino's Italy — such as Théophile de

Viau, Jean Mairet, Malleville, Saint-Amant, Tristan L'Hermite — championed the rights of imagination and love as well as the revelries of the *fête galante*. These writers were sponsored by the high nobility — Gaston d'Orléans, married to a princess of Lorraine; the duc de Montmorency, married to a Roman princess; Henri de Guise, a duke from the House of Lorraine, who was fascinated by the cultural fashions of Italy.

During the intervals between two armed rebellions and two military campaigns, these elegant circles aspired to enjoy the pleasures and luxuries of peace without waiting for the new golden age or allowing Christian antiquity to intimidate them. In his *Fragment d'une histoire comique* (1623), Théophile de Viau spoke for all of them:

I like a fine day, bright fountains, the sight of mountains, expansive plains, beautiful forests, and the ocean — its waves, its calm, its shores. I like even more everything which particularly affects the senses: music, flowers, fine clothes, the hunt, beautiful horses, delicious fragrances, and a good repast.

While painting was not named by Théophile as one of the delights he and his friends and patrons enjoyed, his hedonism — embracing all pleasures of the senses — clearly appreciated their representation. In a few poetic phrases, Théophile evoked the subject matter of contemporary

secular painting — landscape and seascape, musical gatherings, still lifes, and bouquets of flowers.

Théophile would be thrown into prison and Richelieu would execute the poet's protector, the duc de Montmorency, and exile the rebellious lords — Gaston d'Orléans, César de Vendôme, and the Guise family. Nevertheless, the license and irony of these dispersed minor courts, acting as corrective to the official rhetoric and learned classicism under Richelieu's protection, left their mark on the period. Richelieu, however, was sufficiently far-sighted to admit to the Académie Française poets — Malleville, for example — who were formerly in the service of his enemies. During the Fronde and as a reaction to the "high taste" advocated by Richelieu, the popular burlesque would ridicule such taste, accompanied by an atmosphere of revelry and fantasy in which the nobility of the Fronde indulged itself.

Mazarin understood the dangers of solemnity and boredom that threatened the cultural planning undertaken by Richelieu. He attempted to enliven the official style in France by inviting from Italy musicians, set designers, and painters. In his brief and unequalled career as patron of the arts after the Fronde, the Surintendant des Finances Nicolas Fouquet brought together the most brilliant cluster of French artists that had ever been assembled in the kingdom — the poet La Fontaine, the playwright Molière, the architect Le Vau, the landscape gardener Le Nôtre, and the painter Le Brun. Following the example of the Italian princes of the High Renaissance, Fouquet acted as if he wanted to endow the official exercise of patronage with the charm of private patronage as practiced by noble lords in opposition to Richelieu.

After Mazarin's death one of the first decisive acts of Louis XIV was the disgrace of Fouquet, following which Louis placed in the service of the crown most of the artists the Surintendant had sponsored. At the same time, the king implemented with renewed vigor Richelieu's cultural policy and imported into France, in Colbert's phrase, "everything of beauty in Italy." In its slow and complicated gestation Versailles would summarize the impulses of a century in search of a splendid new era of the arts of peace: Mazarin's Italianism, Fouquet's French synthesis of the arts, Richelieu's authoritarian patronage, and the multiplicity of forms borrowed from the repertory of foreign courts and from the minor courts of France. These disparate elements — unified by the French taste of a young and gifted king — would have an extraordinary effect on his court and festivals, transforming them into the final summation of the European Renaissance. French honor, identified with the glory of the king, had performed a miracle of cultural alchemy, of which the Sun King was at once agent and product.

VI.

What part did painters play in this alchemical operation taking place in the royal court, an operation that involved so many ingredients — antique and modern, political and religious — and so many contradictions that were reconciled only after successive experimentation? A great emphasis has been placed on the severity of Gallican Christianity — especially its hostility toward sensual pleasures — but the significant forces in France that favored a pictorial Renaissance must also be considered.

The earlier aristocratic disdain for the *arts de la main* was now in conflict with the cultural aspirations of the nation. Given the spirit of emulation that existed between the courts of France and Rome, French honor could no longer accept the notion that an art that had been the glory of the pontiffs and had been highly esteemed by the Greeks and Romans should not flourish in France in a way consistent with the grandeur expected of the kingdom. Fontainebleau was remembered as both example and method, for the palace of Francis I, with its galleries painted by Primaticcio and



Under the supervision of Primaticcio.

Venus of Cnidus. 1543, bronze.

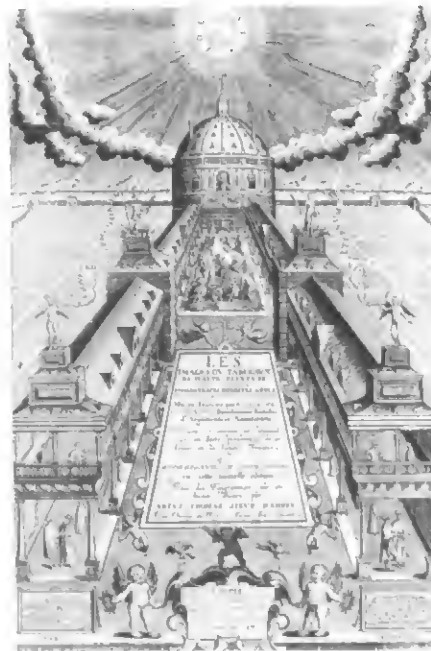
Fontainebleau, Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau.

Rosso, its collection of antique casts, and its Italian Renaissance paintings, was the first native model equal to the noble palaces of Italy. This early example was taken up and recast, according to current taste, in the Louvre, the château de Richelieu, the Palais Cardinal, the château de Chantilly under Louis XIII, and rich private residences of the Marais and the Île-de-France under the regency of Anne of Austria. The French painters who had carried out their apprenticeship under the influence of the art of Fontainebleau were marked by the graceful manner derived from the Medici courts in Florence. It was at Fontainebleau that a French tradition of humanist painting was first conceived. The sojourn in Rome — obligatory for painters by the beginning of the seventeenth century — intensified the initial lesson of Fontainebleau, which seemed to offer the possibility of transferring to France all that was beautiful in Italy. But there was another very important reason to look to Rome. Only by reviving the beauty of a golden age unsullied by Gothic decadence could painting hope to free itself from the prejudice that, in France, still placed it on the level of the professional crafts, subservient to the glory of the liberal arts.

The classical world, guardian of an ideal beauty, was



G. Durand and Pierre Bontemps, under the supervision of Primaticcio. *Apollo Belvedere*. 1543, bronze. Fontainebleau, Musée National du Château de Fontainebleau.



G. Isac or Isaac (d. 1654). Frontispiece for *Images ou Tableaux de Platte Peinture des deux Philostrates Sophistes...* by Thomas Artus sieur d'Embry. Paris, Claude Sonnius, 1637. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

reasonably easy for a writer to experience. Montaigne or Corneille had simply to enter his library and reach for a volume of Virgil, Horace, Livy, or Seneca — contemporary editions published in Venice, Basel, or Paris — in order to recapture by an effort of the imagination the genius of the ancient authors. The contemporary writer could emulate the classical style or expand on its thought. The situation, however, was more problematic for the painter. Unlike the literature, the painting of antiquity had not withstood the rigors of time. Scholarly observations by Pliny and descriptions of painting by Lucian and Philostratus and other Sophists were all that remained of Zeuxis, Apelles, and Timanthes. Even the traces of ancient art that were available — grotesques on ancient walls and the occasional fresco ruin, such as the so-called Aldobrandini Wedding discovered in 1605 — could be seen only in Italy.

Before discovering antiquity, the painter had to acquire familiarity with its culture in order to reconstitute the ideal categories through which the ancients perceived nature. He would have to study architecture with Vitruvius, poetry with Horace, and eloquence with Quintilian. The painters of the Italian Renaissance were the first to devote themselves to

such a study and therefore served as intermediaries for the rest of Europe. Greek and Roman sculpture had withstood time better than ancient frescoes. In Italy, particularly in Rome, there were wonderful classical statues — the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Laocoön*, to name but two — that projected a plastic vision of ideal humanity. The frieze on the Column of Trajan in Rome and the many bas-reliefs of sarcophagi also provided access to this universe of beauty. French and Dutch painters were able to form their imagination and taste according to the canons of humanism at Fontainebleau in the frescoes of Primaticcio and Rosso and the casts of ancient statues assembled by Francis I. However, if the palace museum of Fontainebleau had fixed a moment of the Italian Renaissance, it was not representative of the most recent achievements of Italian art. Engraving, which transmitted the image of antique monuments and sculptures outside Italy, could not compare with direct contact with the works themselves. The seventeenth-century quest for humanist ideals demanded a journey to Italy, especially to Rome, where the achievements of ancient architecture and statuary were on display in an immense museum without equal in Europe, a museum that was, to use a hackneyed expression, alive.

The determination of the ecclesiastical court at Rome to employ painting to glorify its preeminence and that of the Catholic Church had, since the end of the fifteenth century, transformed the capital into a vast atelier in which the best painters of Italy came to work and to compete with one another. The center of Christian humanism had also become the center of humanist painting, and rather than Zeuxis or Apelles, it was Raphael and Michelangelo who were the first artists to raise painting to the glorious level of poetry or the liberal arts. For more than a century and a half the art of painting — exemplified by their masterpieces — had been wrested from the corporate guild, where, in the opinion of most Frenchmen, it had remained in the Paris of Louis XIII. In Rome, through the emulation of antique art, modern painting had extended its experience.

Invigorated by the Council of Trent, seventeenth-century Rome became headquarters of the Counter Reformation, and it remained an active and creative metropolis at a time when Florence and Venice were losing their vitality. Rome could boast a history of humanist painting, displayed on the city walls and in the collections of the great families and prelates, and such a tradition encouraged reflection and the discovery of new forms. In this way the Eternal City became a second homeland for every painter in Europe. Not satisfied with enticing the finest talents in Italy and Europe to come and decorate the city's churches and palaces nor content with offering these artists an incomparable anthology of the classical world and the Renaissance, Rome had created a stimulating environment of rival workshops, informed art lovers, and critics capable of meditating on and analyzing the

principles of art. The debates of schools and fashions were as lively and as well argued in this extensive milieu as were the disputes over the merits and effects of Guez de Balzac's *Lettres* or Corneille's *Cid* in the literary circles of Richelieu's Paris.

Rome offered the seventeenth-century painter a wealth of specifically pictorial culture that was unequaled in the rest of Europe. Artists and critics — both seeking, among the multiplicity of current styles and genres, a beauty to rival that of an antique past — were stimulated by the many debates over means and ends. Florentine drawing and Venetian color, Raphael's Atticism and Michelangelo's Mannerism, Caravaggio's chiaroscuro and Annibale Carracci's balanced sonorities, the theatricality of Pietro da Cortona and the sobriety of Andrea Sacchi — these were not only problems of the workshop but also questions that divided art lovers. The painters' homeland was also the primary meeting place for young artists from other Italian cities and from centers in other parts of Europe — France, the Franche-Comté, Lorraine, Flanders, Germany, Spain. These artists brought to Rome the experience of their local workshops and took back with them, if they returned to their country of origin, the style they had developed in this spontaneous congress of talents. By contrast, in the Gothic capital of the French kingdom — so spiked with church spires that Bernini, accustomed to the cupolas of Rome, compared this panorama to the teeth of a comb — the training of the eye, particularly that of the painter and art lover, was through engravings, since antiquities collections or art galleries were a rarity in comparison with Rome.

There were few French artists of importance in the seventeenth century — particularly those represented in this exhibition — who did not make the journey to Rome. Even the most brilliant exception — Eustache Le Sueur — does not, in the long run, invalidate the rule. Le Sueur was trained in Vouet's studio and was in Paris at the time of Poussin's visit in 1640-1642. Vouet had lived for many years in Rome and knew all aspects of the Roman art world of the decade 1620-1630. Le Sueur was therefore the product of two Roman workshops transported to Paris, and this transplanting of one capital to another in no way diminished the vigor of his work. The Le Nain brothers and Georges de La Tour, a native of Lorraine, may have gone to Rome to receive the lessons of Caravaggism while on a spree in the city itself, but this has yet to be proved. Of all the great painters of this period, only Champagne remained untouched by Rome, either directly or indirectly, and it is no coincidence that he felt extremely close to Port-Royal, the heart of Parisian resistance to Italianate taste and religious sensibility.

The Roman tour was judged so little as betrayal or desertion — even by the most punctilious authorities at the French court — that more than one French painter received a

pension during his stay in Italy. After visiting Paris on the invitation of Louis XIII and Richelieu, Nicolas Poussin returned to the painters' second homeland without excessively discomfiting his hosts in Paris. In 1668 Colbert would institutionalize this journey by establishing the Académie de France in Rome, intended essentially for artists. To assert that the archives of the human spirit were to be studied at Rome was to state the obvious for any humanist. The Vatican Library lured the most Gallican of French magistrates — for example, Jacques de Thou and Jérôme Bignon. With even greater reason the ruins of Campo Vaccino, the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, the Stanza della Segnatura, and the statues of the Belvedere Courtyard were generally accepted as essential archives for any painter imbued with the honor of his craft.

The artists who sought the perfection of their art in Rome did not lose sight, as might have been expected, of a specifically French identity and a sense of actively participating in the collective ambition of France as primary heir to pagan and Christian antiquity. Two collections of sonnets by Du Bellay written in 1555-1557, the *Regrets* and the *Antiquités de Rome*, are sufficient witness from this period that a Frenchman in Rome knew how to distinguish between the universal lessons of the Eternal City and its purely Italian character. Admiration was not incompatible with irony and self-awareness. Painters from the Franche-Comté and Lorraine had their own churches and community in Rome, and many Flemish artists, who had often stopped off in Paris and Lyons, belonged to a specifically French milieu or were drawn into it, above all because of a shared language but also by the proximity of living quarters.

Indeed, French-born artists had better reasons to recall their status in Rome as Frenchmen. They rarely settled there permanently, Valentin de Boulogne and Poussin being among the exceptions. They attended to what was happening in France, since they counted on returning there to pursue their careers after they had gained what Rome had to offer in both experience and prestige. Although Paris as a center of pictorial creativity was not as dynamic as Rome, in comparison it was still a great metropolis. In periods of civil calm money was abundant, and there was no lack of commissions — official or private, civil or ecclesiastic — even if patrons and public were less well informed than in Rome. The large provincial cities — Lyons, Aix, Toulouse — provided excellent markets for modern art. French artists thought of their stay in Rome in much the same way as Parisian jurists regarded their study in Orléans; they took their degrees there because of the absence of a faculty of civil law in Paris.

It was difficult for French artists residing in the ecclesiastical state to avoid having a sense of nation: France had its own church in Rome, Saint-Louis-des-Français (San Luigi dei Francesi), as well as a powerful and proud embassy

that enjoyed the privilege of extraterritoriality in its district. While most artists preferred to live in the bohemian and international parts of the city — between the Piazza del Popolo and the Trinità dei Monti, another French church connected to the Minims order — as subjects of the Most Christian king, they could not help harboring a sense of pride about their kingdom. Perhaps they felt it more keenly than they would have in Paris or the provinces.

French painters were witnesses to, and sometimes victims of, brawls between their compatriots and the Spaniards, who also had their privileged district of the city, since Rome was as much the diplomatic capital of Europe as its religious center. The effects of the Thirty Years War, with its roots in the wars between Charles V and Francis I, were felt as far as Rome. Exposed to the hostility of the Spaniards, the French were also kept under surveillance by the Italian ecclesiastical authorities. French citizens living in Rome were frequently reminded that they were foreigners, particularly because of the door-to-door visits by the parish clergy, in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent requiring inspection of the "states of souls." Finally, precisely because Rome, as diplomatic residence and nerve center of the universal church, received visitors and mail unremittingly, it was possibly the best-informed city in Europe; it was the city in which it was least possible to forget one's language and country of origin.

Except for the severe pontificate of Innocent XI at the end of the century, the inconveniences experienced by artists in Rome due to clerical inquisitiveness should not be exaggerated. Ecclesiastical investigations into general morality and participation in the sacraments were more routine procedure than conscious persecution. Ecclesiastical government in general was relatively restrained and tolerant for its time. Young artists responded to the Holy City's many attractions as a place indulgent to the life of the senses. The artists were on good terms with the city's famous courtesans, who lived in the same districts and often served as their models. Licentiousness seemed more natural in the ecclesiastical state than in the scholarly and learned Gallican capital, where it remained the privilege of the extremes of the hierarchy of class — the high nobility or the lower classes. This aspect of society, which might seem purely anecdotal, is not without interest for an understanding of the painters' art. So far, Rome has been considered as a place where the artist could study more directly than anywhere else the proportions, gestures, and expressions of Greek and Latin statuary and their unifying relationship to its architecture — the supreme balance of both classical and Renaissance monuments. But Rome was also a modern capital, where the intrusions of wars, which had greatly disturbed other capitals of Europe, had hardly penetrated. Festivals abounded, and music was cultivated magnificently: this was the period of masterpieces by Allegri, Carissimi, and Frescobaldi. The luxurious

refinements enjoyed by the patron class, who happily entertained artists, were without parallel. Above all, it was a city of animated street life bathed in a southern light, which heightened contrasts and added relief to movement. Humanist doctrine encouraged not only the imitation of antiquity, the apogee of well-chosen form and perfect harmony, but also of nature, the vital repository of divine invention. The inner eye was trained not only by analyzing the monuments, by listening to the inspired music written for the churches, and by studying the masterpieces that decorated the palaces; it further used these art forms to interpret and represent the beauty of nature directly observed.

The squares and streets of Rome made the city a living heir of antique humanity. The vibrant echoes of the city's space and structure were fused with its music, architecture, painting, and statuary. Rome was the embodiment of divine proportion and moved easily between the ideal of the past and a present suffused with beauty. Similarly, to an eye accustomed to the architectonic and monumental values of the classical world and the Renaissance, the Campagna di Roma — the Alban Hills and the Sabine Hills at the city gates — could rise as the venerable ruins of Virgil's "Saturnia regna." It was an image of nature closer than all others to the golden age.

The artist's imagination had been uniquely stimulated by this union, between centuries, of works of art and a spirit of place. Emerging from a long period of decadence their generation wanted to forget, the young Frenchmen who flocked to Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century discovered there the spirit of the Renaissance. In advance of official recognition and as if by instinct, they were often drawn there to savor the sweetness of visual experience, and this had ceased being a national privilege since Jean Fouquet and the Master of Moulins in the fifteenth century. For all its charm, the Mannerism of Fontainebleau was nothing more than a chilly and fitful spring soon damaged by the frost. The tardy Renaissance of French painting found its true point of departure in Caravaggism, and for French artists this occurred in seventeenth-century Rome.

VII.

Caravaggism was also the point of departure for other national schools of painting, such as those in Spain and Holland. Why this sense of shock and reawakening induced by Caravaggio? The answer lies less in a study of the painter's genius than in his method, which seemed for a time to resolve once and for all the dilemma of humanist art exemplified most acutely in painting. That dilemma was the conflict between scholarly imitation of antiquity and direct observation of nature. It is no longer possible to view Caravaggio as a sixteenth-century Courbet. Caravaggio's art has nothing to do with realism in its modern sense, which presupposes a sensuous and empirical attitude toward the world, quite anachronistic when applied to the Renaissance. Caravaggio's vision was at once humanist and Christian. Humanist, because he perceived human nature through the forms of antique statuary, while enlivening it with a dramatic light and color that preserved it from marmoreal coldness. But it was a humanism concentrated upon bodies and groups of people, relieved of the encyclopedic learning Leonardo associated with the honor of painting. A sense of space replaced knowledge of architecture, perspective, and archaeology.

Such attenuated humanism, appealing to young painters impatient with Latinate pedantry, was admirably suited to a



Michelangelo da Caravaggio. *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew*. Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi.

Christian outlook as well. Just as the preachers of Saint Philip Neri's Fathers of the Oratory urged the people to an emotional faith, unfamiliar with pagan subtleties, so Caravaggio rejected the hierarchy of rhetoric with its division of noble and lowly subject matter. The soul reposed in everything, and in terms of a pictorial language of chiaroscuro, everything was rendered equal in the eyes of the painter, as it is in the eyes of God. Caravaggio's work, similar in many respects to Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, recounted in painterly language the tragedy of incarnation: the incarnation of the ideal form of antiquity in a living, suffering nature as revealed to the Christians and the incarnation of the soul searching for light in the shadowy recesses of mortality. The Caravaggesque revolution was, in fact, the most profound interpretation by a painter of genius of a humanist and Christian spirituality propounded in the Counter Reformation by Saint Charles Borromeo and Saint Philip Neri. Thus, it held a special appeal for the young French artists living at the time of the Gallican Counter Reformation. It was also liberating for men of genius of other nationalities — Spanish and Dutch — attracted to the Erasmian and anticlassical content of Caravaggio's Christian humanism.

Caravaggio was the most Italian of painters in his sincerely dramatic and popular Catholicism. One might say he painted in dialect, in the same language as the evangelical preachers. In this common tongue he treated religious subjects with great majesty. Conversely he elevated commonplace subjects, such as a simple basket of apples or a carousing half-naked shepherd dressed as Bacchus, to the level of profound spiritual drama. This metaphysical painter — in the sense of using paradox and dramatic inversions typical of the English metaphysical poets — overturned the classical and pagan hierarchy of style and subject matter in his ironic and Christian dialectic, which inverted high and low values as well as the spiritual and the carnal. It is hard to believe that an analogy with vernacular languages would not have been current at the time. The common languages were also attempting to break free of the disdain of Ciceronian humanism and prove themselves capable of expressing the torments of the period — its depth and its grandeur — without recourse to a Latinate style. Caravaggio was the contemporary of Shakespeare and Donne in England, Montaigne in France, Cervantes and Mateo Alemán in Spain. Montaigne's *Essais*, Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache* all share a contempt for classical decorum and a determination to express in the common tongue not only man's greatness — his capacity for wisdom, his redemption through Christ — but also his baseness, his vulgarity, his pathetic delusions. It was through this sort of Christian and Erasmian irony that the vernacular languages were ennobled, for they proved better able to express such sentiments than the Latin of the academies. Indeed there was



Michelangelo da Caravaggio. *Bacchus*.
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

a Spanish Caravaggism (Ribera, Zurbarán, Velázquez) and a Dutch Caravaggism (Ter Brugghen, Rembrandt) as well as one that was specifically French.

An anthology of the works of the French *tenebroso* is presented in this exhibition, offering a just appraisal of their recently rehabilitated talents. There are many striking examples to be considered: Valentin's *Saint John the Evangelist* (No. 108) and *Samson* (No. 110); Nicolas Tournier's *Banquet Scene with Guitar Player* (No. 105); Nicolas Régnier's *Penitent Magdalen* (No. 96); Jean Daret's *Woman Playing a Lute* (No. 24); Guy François's *Holy Family in Joseph's Workshop* (No. 29); and the Pensionante del Saraceni's *Fruit Vendor* (No. 80) and *Still Life with Melon and Carafe* (No. 81). The spirit as well as the themes and techniques of these paintings are those of Caravaggio. None of them is perhaps more moving than the anonymous *Saint Matthew and the Angel* (No. 123), which interprets so freely and yet so faithfully the subject of the altarpiece for San Luigi dei Francesi that was initially painted by Caravaggio, although not accepted by the church; Caravaggio's first version was destroyed in the war. The old man, his hand gently guided by a child angel, composes in his own language one of the sublime texts of the world, his Gospel on the life of Jesus. The poetics of the picture is captured in the treatment of character. Humbly and proudly the painter identifies himself with the Evangelist, and both his inspiration and his art are compared to the holy text. Yet the differences of two national temperaments



Michelangelo da Caravaggio. *Saint Matthew and the Angel* (destroyed). Formerly Berlin, Gemäldegalerie des Kaiser-Friedrich Museums.

separate Caravaggio's treatment from that of the anonymous French artist. The sublime drama of Caravaggio's work is translated here into an intimate scene — simple, contemplative, and understated. Such restraint is no less forceful or grand.

The Caravaggist episode — which came to an end with Vouet's return to Paris in 1625 and Valentin's death in 1632 in Rome — was decisive in stimulating French painters to a state of self-awareness. It influenced painting in the same way that Montaigne's prose and Jean-Baptiste Chassignet's poetry revealed to French writers the potential of their language. These initial moments of a specifically French pictorial Renaissance, self-assured in their ability to imitate, translate, and make quotation, already held the potential for a truly French quality, observed and convincingly analyzed by Roberto Longhi as an art of always stopping short of the excesses that result from loss of control. Inner resources — even greater than those actually displayed — were conserved, and there was a wedding of the sublime with the reluctance to show the full extent of one's powers. While very much a native of Lorraine, Georges de La Tour shared this French characteristic of doing nothing to excess; this is clear in his masterpieces included in this exhibition (Nos. 35-40). Such restraint, assuring intensity and interiority, would gain expression in the French version of Roman classicism; it was, in fact, an abiding feature of Gallican spirituality. In

contrast to the hyperbolic Caravaggism of a Spanish painter like Ribera, French artists at the beginning of the seventeenth century integrated such spirituality into their Caravaggism. They thus extricated themselves from the ranks of artisans and participated in the ennobling of their culture.

VIII.

The limits of Caravaggio's legacy lay perhaps in the narrowness of its Christian humanism, isolated in both subject matter and style from other influences no less essential to Renaissance culture. Caravaggism was remarkably well suited to private meditation and collective devotion, seeming as it did to have only a religious society as its horizon — one in which the layman was above all the sinner. It was unfamiliar with urbane civility and courtly life, as with court politics and the art of praise, which was a necessary component. As such, it was in opposition to the classical myth of the Renaissance, which encouraged a happy



J.-F. Greuter (c. 1600-1660). *Pope Urban VIII Receiving from the Hands of His Nephews the Book "Aedes Barberinae,"* frontispiece from the book by Girolamo Teti, *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem descriptae*, Rome, Mascardi, 1642. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Annibale Carracci (1560-1609). *Perseus and Phryne*. Detail from the decoration for the Galleria Farnese. Rome, Palazzo della Farnesina.

balance of civil honesty and the glorification of heroes and kings. The classical myth, essentially utopian, presupposed a calm conciliation between antique beauty and Christian spirituality, between the greatness of man and his earthly role as instrument of Divine Providence. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, in Caravaggio's lifetime, Raphael's Stanze encapsulated such images of harmony, and a return to this classical myth was felt to be indispensable by the courts of Rome and France. After Montaigne and Chassignet, both of whom wrote at a distance from the court, Malherbe's writing gained recognition in France under Henry IV and in the regency of Marie de' Medici, and Guez de Balzac's prose set a standard during Richelieu's ministry. In the work of both authors a return to classical decorum is discernible, as is an attempt to bring the common language closer to the Latin of the first century, making it the tool of a celebratory art. After the most troubled period of the Counter Reformation had passed, the Holy See in Rome — supported by the neo-Latinate humanism of the Jesuits — dreamed of reviving the century of Julius II and Leo X. Neo-Latinate poetry, combining the meters and genres of Virgil, Horace, and Tibullus with Christian subject matter, flourished again under the impetus of the Jesuit college. Maffeo Barberini became Pope Urban VIII in 1621. Urban, who was a poet and a pupil of the Jesuits, determined to renew the miracle of the patronage of the Roman High Renaissance.

Yet, from the beginning of the century the polemics of a court humanist such as Monseigneur Agucci, advocating a return to classical beauty, had followed the same path as Annibale Carracci's fresco decoration in the Farnese Gallery, which, with good reason, was interpreted as an anti-Caravaggist manifesto. The times favored victorious affirmation rather than contrition. The court of Rome's temporal and spiritual power rested upon a theology of the Incarnation, both heroic and triumphant. The living example of this incarnate power was the Holy Father, legitimate heir to an

uninterrupted tradition that began with the civilization of the demigods of pagan antiquity, as well as the prophets of the Bible, and continued with the glorious doctrines of the saints, the martyrs, and the church doctors. The darkness of sin and the corruption of mortality — in which the tenebrous manner of Caravaggism had found such moving qualities — now had to yield to the light of certainty and hope. Christian civilization was being reborn, and the court of Rome stood at its heart. This civilization would be glorified in a reaffirmation of those very forms that had earlier celebrated the High Renaissance, imperial Rome, and ancient Egypt. It was necessary to breathe into these traditional forms the vigor of a renewed and all-conquering Catholicism. The route of Caravaggism was initiated in the Farnese Gallery, which was inspired by Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling and Raphael's Stanze. A new phase of Roman Catholic reform was beginning, and from the start it had its own painters in Guido, Lanfranco, and Domenichino, whose authority remained unquestioned in the decade from 1620 to 1630.

This return to the models of the High Renaissance and of antique decorum would enrich itself with the theatrical and decorative pomp of Pietro da Cortona and Romanelli during the long pontificate of Urban VIII (1621-1644). Roman painting enjoyed the supreme luxury of being able to reflect



Guido Reni (1575-1642). *Massacre of the Innocents*. Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale.



Pietro da Cortona (1596-1669). *Rape of the Sabine Women*. Rome, Pinacoteca Capitolina.



Simon Vouet. *Temptation of Saint Francis*. Rome, San Lorenzo in Lucina.

all aspects of experience, from the deepest to the sweetest, from the most meditative to the most extrovert. The second generation of French painters in the seventeenth century selected the riches of Roman painting from this prodigious Alexandrian flowering — too frequently reduced to the single and insipid category of Baroque — and brought them to the service of the French court, filtering them through a self-confident taste.

Simon Vouet was the most eclectic French witness of this turning point from Caravaggism to a classical art of glorification. A brilliant exponent of Caravaggism at his debut in Rome, Vouet, however, was converted while there and then acclaimed for the new official language in the large altarpieces he painted for Roman chapels. This exhibition presents some fine examples of his Caravaggesque manner, already academic and official. The *Saint Jerome and the Angel* (No. 117), the paintings the *Angel Holding the Signpost from the Cross* and the *Angel Holding the Vessel of Pontius Pilate* (Nos. 118, 119), and the *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John* (No. 120), painted for the Barberini in 1626, show how the darkly dramatic quality of Caravaggio could be attenuated to a brilliant convention after his death. Vouet returned to Paris in 1627. From all the styles in which he had excelled when he resided in Rome, he chose on his return to his native city to reject the tenebrous manner; it was already out of date in Rome and was never practiced there. This does not mean that the style was not appreciated there. Caravaggist painting did appear in Parisian collections from the 1630s — by the master himself, the *Portrait of Alof de Wignacourt* in the duc de Liancourt's collection, and works by Valentin and Georges de La Tour. But Parisian studio practice, linked to Flanders and the example of Fontainebleau, was not overwhelmed by this stark chiaroscuro style. Instead, Vouet chose to bring to

the French court the clear manner of Guido and Lanfranco, able to accommodate more easily the Fontainebleau tradition and revitalize it. Vouet's *Chronos, Venus, Mars, and Cupid* (No. 121) is a good example of this luminous art of idealized praise, which made him the renovator of Parisian painting. The *Toilet of Venus* (No. 122) shows another aspect of his talent for decoration in the antique style and matches Marino's ideal. In fact, Vouet's success in Paris marked a threshold for French painting, comparable in the literary world with the poetry of Malherbe and the prose of Guez de Balzac.

Montaigne's *Essais*, written outside the court, had confirmed the nobility of the common tongue, although not without a certain irony toward the grand style of the humanist Latin panegyric. But this was done, after some provocation, by insisting upon its vulgarity, its provincialism, its popular naïveté. With Balzac and Malherbe the vernacular aspired to an entirely different status. They attempted to assert the common tongue as Latin's equal — indeed, its substitute — and in fulfilling this noble function, the intention was to pay tribute to the princely ruler and to the political and cosmic order he guaranteed. Allegorical and mythological ornament and a dignity of style in keeping with subject matter are inseparable from the court art of this period. In Paris, as in Rome, this art was eager to represent current glory as a repetition of the glory of the heroes and gods of antiquity. Vouet, in his second manner, was the first French painter since Martin Fréminet — whose work is still little known — who was capable of executing such pictorial tributes.

But as in Rome, the official grand style that followed Caravaggism had a less theatrical counterpart, which in the work of Domenichino preferred to rediscover in antiquity a



Domenichino (1581-1641). *Condemnation of Saint Cecilia*.
Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi.



Simon Vouet. *Eloquence*.
Paris, Musée du Louvre.

simplicity consistent with Christian gentleness and humility. A pupil of Vouet's, Eustache Le Sueur infused French painting with the capacity for retaining innocence in grandeur, strength in tenderness — that is, a capacity for praise without flattery. In an allegorical painting, *Eloquence* (Louvre), Le Sueur's master, Vouet, depicts Calliope with a tamed lion at her feet (strength being restrained); cupids, symbolizing gentleness, flutter around her. This can be taken as a point of departure for Le Sueur's poetics. Included in this exhibition are a number of fine examples, such as the *Young Man with a Sword* (No. 52), picturing a gentleman who is proud yet well mannered, and the *Sea Gods Paying Homage to Love* (No. 50), which illustrates with a nimble and balanced lyricism an episode from *The Dream of Poliphilus* (*Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*), Francisco Colonna's fifteenth-century model for Marino's *Adone*. The nudity of the *Sleeping Venus* (No. 51) is treated with the same contemplative restraint and *morbidezza* as the *Virgin and Child with Saint Joseph* (No. 54) and the *Annunciation* (No. 53).

To appreciate fully the quality of Le Sueur's Atticism, it must be remembered that he was the intimate friend of the most famous French lutenist of the epoch, Denis Gaultier, with whom he is represented in the *Gathering of Friends* (Louvre). Both were patronized by Anne de Chambré, Trésorier des Guerres under Louis XIII and gentleman of the prince de Condé, who commissioned the magnificent manuscript *La Rhétorique des dieux*, a collection of compositions for lute illustrated by Le Sueur. The humanist poetry of this painter corresponds perfectly to the elusive yet modest and penetrating lyricism of this music. In Le Sueur the somewhat official style of Vouet, his master, blended with private taste, which interpreted court culture more intimately and in a more delicately exacting fashion. Paris



Eustache Le Sueur (1616-1655). *Reunion of Friends*.
Paris, Musée du Louvre.



After a drawing by Eustache Le Sueur. Frontispiece for *La Rhétorique des dieux* (collection of works for the lute), by Denis Gaultier, c. 1652. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.

witnessed the resurgence of a dialectic between official and privately patronized art, earlier responsible for the vitality of Roman culture. Anne de Chambré — like Chantelou, Fréart de Chambray, and Pointel, the great Parisian patrons of Poussin — is the classic example of the wealthy and enlightened art lover, of whom there had been no notable forerunners in France for a long time.

Le Sueur's painting shares certain stylistic similarities with that of Laurent de La Hyre, his contemporary. La Hyre has two allegories in this exhibition, the *Allegory of Music* (No. 33) and the *Kiss of Peace and Justice* (No. 34). His *Job Restored to Prosperity* (No. 32), with its setting of classical architecture and its noble rhythms lightened by pastoral simplicity and bathed in clear daylight, is the antithesis of Georges de La Tour's Caravaggist treatment of the same theme, painted at almost the same time. La Tour's version, the *Mocking of Job* (Épinal), presents the biblical hero in the anguish of abandonment, whereas La Hyre pictures him at the moment of reconciliation. The narrative elegance of another canvas (No. 31), illustrating an act of Tristan L'Hermite's tragedy *Panthée* (1639), is appealing. It is part of a series from which other panels survive and was probably commissioned by a private patron attracted by the art of both the dramatist-poet and the painter. Once again Paris



Laurent de La Hyre (1606-1656). *Arrival of the Captive Panthea Before Cyrus*. Montluçon, Musée Municipal du Vieux Château.



Georges de La Tour (1593-1652). *Job Mocked by His Wife*. Épinal, Musée Départemental des Vosges.



Laurent de La Hyre. Engraving by P. Daret after *Panthée Repulses Araspas, Who Has Just Declared His Love for Her*, frontispiece for *Panthée* by Tristan L'Hermite, 1639. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

manifested its universal character, a city where a correspondence between the arts existed and where a community of art lovers and patrons created a constellation of independent creative centers around the court. A keen music lover like Le Sueur, La Hyre also profited from Parisian investigation into optics and perspective, related to him by his mathematician friend Desargues. Under Poussin's influence his classicism took on an archaeological and scholarly character, most successfully realized in the ambitious *Cornelia Refusing Ptolemy's Crown* of 1646 (Budapest). Moreover, just as with Le Sueur, there is no one style that characterizes La Hyre. Highly conscious of classical decorum, La Hyre was able to adapt his style — within the confines of a taste formed by Fontainebleau and enhanced by Poussin — to the subjects he treated and to the various nuances in the culture of the patrons for whom he worked.

Malleability combined with Atticism is equally noteworthy in the work of Jacques Stella, Poussin's friend and correspondent. It is possible to remain unmoved by his *Liberality of Titus* (No. 100), whose official and awkward style recalls similar allegories by Antoine Caron, court painter to Henry III. But what the painting lacks in pictorial merit, it gains in historical interest, for the painter has become the docile interpreter of Richelieu's thought and of the monarchical myth of France inheriting Roman grandeur. Richelieu as Maecenas and Louis XIII as Augustus are majestically portrayed reviving the Muses and the pleasures of peace. Two paintings on marble, *Susannah and the Elders* (No. 98) and *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (No. 99), seem objects of curiosity rather than works of art. Yet in the *Rape of the Sabine Women* (No. 101) and the *Judgment of Paris* (No. 102), Stella's talent appears — under the imperious influence of his friend Poussin — to be participating in an attempt to ennoble French painting; he is less successful in avoiding a certain pedantic coldness.

The short career of Jacques Blanchard exemplifies how a determination to neglect nothing of the heritage of the High Renaissance and to enrich Paris with the spoils of Egypt had become a matter of honor for the French. Blanchard was too ambitiously described in the seventeenth century as the French Titian; indeed, he did spend two years in Venice after the obligatory training in Rome. The French court was grateful to Blanchard and named him *Peintre du Roi* in 1636, two years before his death. The *Portrait of a Young Man* (No. 3) proves, however, that Blanchard was as much at ease in working in a genre, then considered something of a French and Flemish speciality, as he was in imitating Venetian color. It is color that dominates two other superb canvases in this exhibition — *Angelica and Medoro* (No. 4) and the *Allegory of Charity* (No. 5). The first has all the flavor of a Bacchanal by Titian, abstracted and amplified in the same way that poets of the period composed sonnets around this famous episode from *Orlando Furioso*. The two languid



Laurent de La Hyre. *Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi, Refuses the Crown of Ptolemy, King of Egypt*. Budapest, Szébművészeti Múzeum.



Michel Lasne (c. 1590-1667). Illustration for *Ludovici XIII, just, pii, victoris, pacifici, reducis, Calliope...*, by J. Isnard, Paris, Julien Jacquin, 1623. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

bodies breaking from each other, nested in shadowy vegetation, are a tour de force. The *Allegory of Charity* — a subject approached wholeheartedly by the artist — casts, in the manner of Palma Giovane, the lights of a golden afternoon onto flesh and material in such a way that maternal generosity is metamorphosed into a gentle and tangible softness.

Somewhat younger than Stella, La Hyre, and Blanchard,

Sébastien Bourdon is something of a “one-man band” among painters of the period. Painting had developed a real *culture* in Paris in the period from 1630 to 1660; taste was responding to several manners in turn, matching them with the various sensibilities and interests of a capital receptive to all spiritual moods. This development is attested by the versatility of this Calvinist artist and the range of genres and styles he practiced. We marvel at the artist’s success in works as different as the *Encampment* (No. 7), *Landscape with Ford* (No. 9), which derives from both van Laer and Salvator Rosa, *Portrait of a Man* (No. 10), and the *Finding of Moses* (No. 11), where emulation of Poussin is apparent. As for *Landscape with Mill* (No. 12), the subtlety of which makes light shimmer in the silence of space, its debt to Poussin is also manifest but it is evocative more of the impressionism of a later age — the personal style of Cézanne, for instance — than any landscape by Poussin.

IX.

With the founding of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris in 1648, French painting can be said to have succeeded in keeping pace with that of Rome. Furthermore, through such prominent artists as Claude Vignon, the Le Nain brothers, and Philippe de Champaigne, French painting maintained links with the Mannerist tradition (Vignon), with Dutch genre painting (the Le Nain brothers, who are not easily characterized, as is borne out by comparing Antoine Le Nain’s *Three Young Musicians* [No. 45] with Mathieu Le Nain’s famous *Peasant Interior* [No. 49]), with portraiture, with group portraiture, and with Flemish landscape (Champaigne). French painting excelled in all genres and absorbed the best in European painting with calm self-assurance. It revealed itself in a multiplicity of forms, while retaining an identity that if not quite “national” (the term is too modern and jars in the context of the seventeenth century) was nonetheless built upon a common language, culture, and set of allegiances.

It is strange that this school of painting, which reached maturity in a rapidly expanding capital, seemed to leave aside the work of Rubens, who was superbly represented in Paris by the monumental cycle in the Palais du Luxembourg dedicated to the glory of Marie de’ Medici. This is perhaps explained by the notion of scale: even Vouet, despite his experience with large Roman altarpieces, was more comfortable decorating smaller units than designing monumental schemes. Charles Le Brun would be the first French painter equal to the decoration of royal palaces — particularly the Galerie d’Apollon in the Louvre and the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles, modeled on the quasi-royal decorations for



View of the Galerie des Glaces, Versailles.
Musée National du Château de Versailles.



Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). *The Felicity of the Regency*, from the *Marie de’ Medici* cycle. Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Nicolas Poussin. *Rape of the Sabine Women*.
Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Nicolas Poussin. *Inspiration of the Poet*.
Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fouquet's château de Vaux-le-Vicomte. The question of Rubens was also a matter of politics. During the reign of Louis XIII and the regency of Anne of Austria, Rubens's grand style was compromised by the very cause he glorified — that of Marie de' Medici, who was exiled from the kingdom in 1632 and who died in exile in 1642. As a diplomat in the service of the greatest enemy of Louis XIII and Richelieu, Philip IV of Spain, Rubens was persona non grata in the French court. The uninterrupted ascendancy of the Italian grand manner — from Fontainebleau to the Rome of the 1630s, of which the Flemish manner was an antithesis, if not a foil — may have so well satisfied the monarchical myth of a return to Augustan antiquity that no room remained for the inspired synthesis of Rubens's works, a world unto themselves. Only when the French monarchy and French painting felt confident in their rediscovered classicism, only when Paris felt secure in its role as the new Rome, could the merits of Rubens be debated, as they were at the end of the century; only then could his sensuous world become part of the visual patrimony of the French.

If a date or an event had to be selected to commemorate the classical moment to which French honor had aspired since the reign of Francis I, Nicolas Poussin's stay in Paris from 1640 to 1642 would be the obvious choice. Considered the equal of the greatest artists in Rome, Poussin had already painted the *Rape of the Sabine Women* (No. 90), the first series of the *Seven Sacraments* (Belvoir Castle), as well as the *Inspiration of the Poet*, the *Arcadian Shepherds*, and the *Mannah*

(all three in the Louvre). His stay in Paris coincided with the performance of Corneille's first Roman tragedies, *Horace* (1640) and *Cinna* (1642), before the king and Richelieu. These were also the last two years of Richelieu's ministry: he died shortly after Poussin had returned to Rome. Never before had the Roman myth impressed itself so imperiously and so severely on the capital. Richelieu engaged in a dictatorship for the public good. In the words of the historian V.-L. Tapié, "Richelieu had warded off Spain, which threatened the northern and southern borders of France. His armies dominated northern Italy and kept the empire in a state of alert." Negotiations for peace with the German empire took place at Münster and Osnabrück because of these French victories, which had been won at the cost of enormous sacrifices. Domestic discontent fostered the ambitions of plotters who were relentlessly hunted out and executed by Richelieu. His heroic will — prevailing over an ailing body and all domestic and foreign resistance — appeared to the humanist conscience an incarnation of the Roman republican dictators or the emperor Tiberius.

Admirers and adversaries alike recognized in Richelieu a national figure worthy of antiquity: he added a new dimension to French honor, transcending the concerns of individuals and the egoisms of caste. This approached a modern nationalist sentiment but was experienced in a much more general way, since it was based on a universal model, Rome. Contemporaries were astonished that the cardinal, already close to death, had the time and energy to take an

interest in the theater and to bring into the kingdom a painter from Italy in a period of thwarted plots, military campaigns, and diplomatic maneuvers. But Richelieu himself was sustained by the myth of Roman grandeur: the authority of the state in times of war was inconceivable without the prestige of the arts, which promised peace and prosperity.

Nietzsche's view of the French humanism of this century is appropriate: "The seventeenth century suffered from man as a sum of contradictions." His analysis goes even further: "The seventeenth century sought to discover man himself, to disinter and organize him, where the eighteenth century tried to suppress what was known of man's nature so that he would correspond to its utopia. A superficial, tender, humane century, it was carried away by the idea of man." Richelieu's Christian humanism had nothing of this sense of humanity — in the modern, sentimental sense inherited from the utopianism of the Enlightenment. Rather, it consisted of a determination to bring forth from the inner resources of the kingdom and its inhabitants a heroic idea that was capable of rediscovering the energy and powerful simplicity of ancient Rome and the empire in which Christ had willed his incarnation. Because of this, Richelieu came to admire a playwright such as Corneille, who had exhumed in *Horace* and *Cinna* the essential vigor of the Roman aristocracy and presented it as an example to the French.

Clearly the creative process of the painter is quite different



Frontispiece for *Cinna*, by P. Corneille, Paris, Toussaint Quinet, 1643. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Nicolas Poussin. *Inspiration of the Poet*.
Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesgalerie.

from that of the politician. Poussin was uncomfortable at the Louvre, particularly with Richelieu's political ambitions, which required the artist's talents to glorify on a huge scale the Roman virtues of the monarchy. Yet the motivating force behind Poussin's creativity was similar to that which sustained Richelieu and Corneille, the latter equally uncomfortable under the cardinal's yoke. Given Poussin's highly strung and contradictory personality, as well as a Roman culture full of diverse possibilities, this motivation consisted in resurrecting the art of a golden age. But it was a personal quest, detached from the courts of Rome and Paris, and it matured slowly in successive stages, culminating in a vision that seemed to wrest the painter from his time and raise his work to the plane of universal and timeless poetry.

Marino — first to single out Poussin in Paris — presented the artist to his patron, Sachetti, in the following terms: "Questo giovane ha una furia da diavolo" ("The young man has the inner fire of a devil"). *Furia* is the Italian equivalent of the Latin *furor* — an artist's inspiration and contact with the primeval forces that galvanize nature as well as the gods, exhilarating the spirit by its creative power. Eros, established by Plato as the mainspring of the soul's passage to divine ideas, must be considered among such forces. *Furia* was also the word used to describe French military heroism, the *furia francese*: fiery and disorderly, but irresistible. At the age of thirty Poussin left France to conquer Rome with this inspired vitality. He was a humanist and had a knowledge of

Latin — rare for a painter — and he soon moved in the more scholarly circles of the Roman capital, those of Cassiano dal Pozzo. Poussin's splendid fire belongs to the Renaissance; his modernity lies in his attempt to rediscover the genius of antiquity and to express it in a language that would rejuvenate the world by reminding it of its roots. The whole period is symbolized for me in the first *Inspiration of the Poet* (Hannover): a naked Apollo, painted as a semirecumbent Dionysius, offers a cup of wine to the poet; Thalia, as bacchante and with her breasts bare, looks on; cupids flutter above the group, which is set against a rock on the edge of a forest whose first vigorous growth is visible.

Poussin's attraction to antique vitality, to immersion in Dionysian revelry, and to love and wine is revealed in a series of Ovidian Bacchanals and Metamorphoses, inspired by Titian's famous Bacchanals, which were in the Villa Aldobrandini in Rome from 1598 to 1637. Fine examples of this invocation of the Golden Age of Pan, in which bodies appear to grow from the earth as trees and are involved with them in a sort of joyous earth rhythm, can be seen in *Landscape with Nymphs and Satyr*, also known as *Amor Vincit Omnia* (No. 84) — attributed to Poussin by Pierre Rosenberg and dated 1625-1626 — and in the *Mars and Venus* (No. 86).

There is no obvious division between *Venus Crying over Adonis* (Caen) and the *Pietà* (Cherbourg), and the *Deposition* (Leningrad), all works from Poussin's first years in Rome. In going back to the sources, the painter caught in his color, light, and rhythm the essential features of pagan myth and

biblical history, which overlap in the consciousness of continuing revelation. This was the lesson that could be learned only at Rome, one both religious and pictorial. The living archetypes created by the spirit of antiquity — pagan and Christian — were also hieroglyphs of a divine language that allowed modern man to understand the primeval and essential in him. Such was the ancients' familiarity with these archetypes that their history shunned all anecdote and stood in a position of mythic example.

Few of Poussin's paintings convey the acuity of his comprehension of Roman history better than the *Death of Germanicus* (No. 85). The Roman general dies as a new Socrates, a new Seneca, and, without realizing it, as an imitation of Christ. Two groups comparable to disciples and holy women frame the dying hero, who is placed on a makeshift bed hung with somber drapery. The scene is lit from two sources: one gives relief and depth to the architecture, the bodies, the drapery, the gestures of farewell; the other issues from the face of the hero and fades into the background of night. Contingency assumes the dimensions of a cosmic event, inevitable and distressing yet eminently serene, like a tragedy of Sophocles. The same nocturnal drapery reappears in *Diana and Endymion* (No. 87). The elegant composition, showing the farewell of Diana and Endymion at the moment Apollo takes over his sister's celestial relay, has an inverse correspondence: the awakening of day for the rest of humankind, and the end of a protecting night — a nymph rolling a huge veil — for the two lovers. A



Nicolas Poussin. *Triumph of Bacchus*.
Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum.



Titian (1488 or 1489-1576). *The Andrians*.
Madrid, Museo del Prado.



Nicolas Poussin. *Penitence*. Duke of Sutherland collection, on loan to Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.



Nicolas Poussin. *Landscape with Saint Matthew*. West Berlin, Staatliche Museen-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie.

cosmic and an erotic order intertwine, timelessness mitigating nostalgia.

Sin and decay are absent in Poussin. His vision of the painter, reviving a tradition and prevented by it from straying, knew only the different registers of beauty — tragedy, idyll, eclogue, epic, and sacred drama. Human experience takes on meaning only in the mode of a music that gives expression to its very core — there where in silence timeless figures play out the essence of mortal destiny. No artist was more naïve — in the seventeenth-century sense of having direct access to simple truths — than this serious and learned painter. Nor was any artist more modest, with the exception perhaps of his friend Domenichino.

Poussin's Bacchanals are energetic, not sensual. His *Triumph of Neptune* (No. 89), its brood of female nudes watched by the virile sea god, already holds the secret of Ingres. Intensity of desire has rarely been expressed so keenly and with such restraint: here supreme beauty lies in the adolescent's capacity for blushing rather than in the brazen experience of the libertine. Poussin rendered fable with both the learning of a scholar and the simplicity of a youth almost intimidated by, but certainly wondrous at, his initiation into experience. His poetry is that of a wakening awareness of intimate possibilities, formidable as well as splendid. It reveals nothing of the virtuosity and sly enjoyment in which Marino's *Adone* luxuriates.

In Poussin's work recollection has the flavor of initial discovery. The recounting of myths and their traditional versions assumes the freshness of a first revelation. It is this which distinguishes classicism from academicism, the Renaissance soul from the neoclassical spirit. The youthful

quality of this vision was as sensitive to violence as it was to love. In the *Rape of the Sabine Women* (No. 90), the drama seems to have been perceived by a divinity or a child: in the background the architecture, worthy of de Chirico, is severe and unseeing, while Romulus stands, like the conductor of an orchestra, in an Olympian pose above the rhythmic tumult, the tempest of passions rising and falling at his feet. The centuries of culture that are brought together in this picture — Livy, Virgil, Plutarch, Hellenistic sculpture, Raphael, and Primaticcio — defer to a dreamlike luminosity, transmuting suffering into rhythmic silence. The weight of culture is captured in the flash of an apparition. Violence is present, but as a mastered storm; the painter has refined it to its very essence and abstracted it from any actuality.

Controlled, disciplined, freed from the pressure to produce, Poussin's initial *furia* never failed him. It continually opened new doors on the humanist mind. After Poussin mastered the world of youthful passions and after he suppressed them in the stoicism that informed his maturity, landscape increasingly imposed itself as the ultimate synthesis in his old age. Two examples in this exhibition were painted at an interval of more than ten years — *Landscape with Saint John on Patmos* (No. 91) and the *Blind Orion Searching for the Rising Sun* (No. 91).

Contemporary with the first series of the *Seven Sacraments*, the *Landscape with Saint John on Patmos* bears witness to a similar severe and immobile vision, transcending individual emotionalism. The pictorial staging of nature echoes the choreographic quality of early Christian humanity as represented in the *Baptism* (or the *Ordination*). In this painting as well as in the series, the strength of ancient virtue, in its



Nicolas Poussin. *Summer*.
Paris, Musée du Louvre.

powerful architectonic setting, is the base upon which Christian contemplation is grafted. The result is a synthesis anchored in a Platonic order impervious to decadence, both present and future.

Painted in the last stages of his life, a few years before the *Four Seasons* or *Apollo and Daphne* (Louvre), the *Blind Orion* reveals the last license the painter permitted himself in the perfection of his art. Scrupulous convention is overturned by an implausible discrepancy between foreground and background, between the size of Orion and the Lilliputian figures looking on. The landscape is framed by a strange arch. On one side of the arch the giant, guided by Cedalion crouching on his shoulders, is on his way to the Orient, while Diana at the balcony of the sky contemplates the scene. On the other side a copse of monumental trees, set against the sunlight, counterbalances the weight of Orion. Detached by the same powerful movement from both earth and shadows, the vegetation and human figures converge on the divine and redeeming dawn. The emotion of a Gothic prayer expresses itself as a kind of invisible watermark beneath the surface of humanist mythology and heroic language.

The *Blind Orion* was painted in 1658, the year of Mazarin's decisive victory over the Fronde and of the initial negotiations with Spain, which ended in the Peace of the Pyrenees. The *Four Seasons* (Louvre) was completed between 1660 and 1664, a period of youthful and triumphant brilliance in the Sun King's reign. It was also during Louis XIV's ascendancy that Claude Lorrain painted in Rome *View from Delphi with a Procession* (No. 62) and *Apollo and the Muses on Mount Helicon* (No. 64), together with the others in this exhibition.

The French artists working at Rome, Paris, and Versailles

— that is, the orbit in which the French language had gained hegemony in Europe — experienced this cult of the sun not only as vital principle but also as symbol of the Creator and the poetic art. Solar light characterized the classical form, whose secrets France was to hold forth in the following century; functional and vital, like the forms of nature, the principle was also simple and deceptively complicated, like the message of God. Mastery over such signs was achieved during the time of strictly political ascendancy. The freedom exercised by the aged Poussin is the artistic equivalent of the arrogant liberty in which Louis XIV's authority indulged. Perhaps the freedom was the final explanation of that authority, which seemed to embody for all of Europe the Renaissance ideal of the Prince. Louis XIV came to symbolize the image and guarantor of divine ordinance in the body politic and magical instrument of prosperity and fertility in nature's harvests.

But the message relayed to the four corners of the world in the official encomium of the new Augustus and the new Golden Age would not have been so well received by the king's subjects or by the rest of Europe if a firm foundation had not been laid for it. The invention of a classical language by writers, a classical style in song and instrumental music by composers, and a classical style by painters summing up the achievements following the Renaissance offered European culture a unified expression of universal range.

Poussin had opened the way for Le Brun; the humble dwelling in the via del Babuino had made possible the triumphant display in the Galerie des Glaces. After having translated so much, French civilization was finally in a position, in its turn, to offer original models. "I am... redeunt Saturnia regna." We should contemplate this collection of paintings, and each individually, experiencing, now as before, a purification of the colors of nature, of human passions, and of culture in the clear waters and divine light of life and of the soul. From it the historian draws the lesson that the future belongs always to the good makers of signs, heirs to the artistic fecundity of nature and to the creative power of God.

Principal Political and Artistic Events of the Seventeenth

Political and religious events in France	French artists and painting in France	Painting abroad
<div>1600 Marriage of Henry IV to Marie de' Medici.</div> <div>1601 Mme Acarie founds the French Carmelite Order.</div> <div>1604 Institution of the "paulette" (tax on offices).</div> <div>1607 Union of Navarre with France.</div> <div>1610 Assassination of Henry IV. Marie de' Medici regent.</div> <div>1611 Bérulle founds the Congregation of the Oratory (religious order that did not require vows).</div>	<div>1600 Birth of Claude and of Blanchard.</div> <div>1602 Birth of Philippe de Champaigne (d. 1674). Death of T. Dubreuil (b. about 1561).</div> <div>1603 Bellange painter at the Court of Nancy.</div> <div>c. 1606-1609 A. Dubois: Cabinet de Théagène et Chariclée (Fontainebleau).</div> <div>1608 Birth of Tassel (d. 1667).</div> <div>1608-1619 Fréminet: decoration of the Chapel of the Trinity at Fontainebleau.</div> <div>1612 Birth of Pierre Mignard.</div>	<div>1599-1602 Caravaggio: paintings for the Contarelli chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.</div> <div>1604 Annibale Carracci finishes the Farnese Gallery, Rome.</div> <div>1606 Birth of Rembrandt.</div> <div>1609 Founding of the Accademia dei Lincei. Death of Annibale Carracci (b. 1560.)</div> <div>1610 Death of Caravaggio (b. 1570 or 1571) and of Elsheimer (b. 1578).</div> <div>1611 Death of Spranger (b. 1546).</div> <div>c. 1612-1614 El Greco: <i>Adoration of the Shepherds</i> (Prado).</div> <div>1613-1614 Guido Reni: <i>Aurora</i>, ceiling fresco in Casino Rospiglioso, Rome.</div>

Century

Architecture, sculpture, engraving, and decorative arts in France and abroad	Literature, philosophy, music, and the sciences in France and abroad	Political events abroad
1597-1600 M. Jacquet: the Belle Cheminée at Fontainebleau.	1600 Condemnation and execution of Giordano Bruno.	
1601 A. de Vries sculptor at the court of Hungary.	1601 Publication of Malherbe's first <i>Odes</i> .	
	1603 Shakespeare: <i>Hamlet</i> .	1603 Death of Elizabeth I of England. James Stuart succeeds her (James I).
1605 Beginning of the construction of the Place Royale (now called Place des Vosges), Paris.	1605 Cervantes: <i>Don Quixote</i> (Part I).	1605 Death of Boris Godunov. Pseudo-Demetrius recognized as czar.
1605-1614 Equestrian statue of Henry IV on the Pont Neuf, Paris (P. Tacca, F. Francqueville, F. Bordone).		
1607 Beginning of the construction of the Place Dauphine, Paris. Birth of W. Hollar (d. 1672).	1607 Monteverdi: <i>Orfeo</i> .	
	1607-1628 Honoré d'Urfé: <i>L'Astrée</i> .	
	1608 Saint François de Sales: <i>Introduction à la vie dévote</i> .	
		1609 Bank of Amsterdam chartered.
	1610 Galileo invents the telescope.	
1612 Maderno: façade of Saint Peter's, Rome. S. de Brosse: Luxembourg Palace, Paris.		1612 Death of Rudolf II of Hapsburg.
1613 Birth of Le Nôtre (d. 1700).	1613 Shakespeare: <i>Henry VIII</i> .	1613 Michael Romanov czar.

Political and religious
events in France

French artists and painting in France

Painting abroad

1617 Assassination of Concini.

1620 Treaty of Angers: end of quarrels between Marie de' Medici and Louis XIII.

1624 Richelieu joins the Council.

1627 Siege of La Rochelle by Richelieu.
Founding of the Company of the Holy Sacrament.

1629 Richelieu officially appointed prime minister.

1632 Revolt of Gaston d'Orléans.

1614 Death of A. Dubois (b. about 1543).
Vouet in Rome.

1616 Birth of Le Sueur and of Bourdon
(d. 1671).

1617 Vignon: *Martyrdom of Saint Matthew*
(Arras).

1619 Birth of Le Brun.

1622-1625 Rubens: gallery of Marie de'
Medici in the Luxembourg Palace, Paris
(now in Louvre).

1624 Arrival of Poussin in Rome.

1624-1625 O. Gentileschi in Paris.

1627 Return of Vouet to Paris.

1629 Poussin: *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus*
(Vatican).

1617-1618 Birth of Murillo (d. 1682).

1620 Rubens commissioned to decorate the
Church of the Jesuits, Antwerp.

1621 Guercino: *Aurora*, ceiling fresco in
Casino Ludovisi, Rome.

1622-1623 Jordaens: *The Four Evangelists*
(Louvre).

1625 Birth of Maratta (d. 1713).
Rembrandt: *The Stoning of Saint Stephen*
(Lyons).

1629 Death of Ter Brugghen (b. 1588).
Sacchi: *An Allegory of Divine Wisdom*,
fresco in the Barberini Palace, Rome.

1629-1634 Rubens: ceiling of the reception
room at Whitehall, London.

1630 Velázquez: *The Forge of Vulcan* (Prado).

Architecture, sculpture, engraving, and decorative arts in France and abroad	Literature, philosophy, music, and the sciences in France and abroad	Political events abroad
1616 Callot: <i>The Temptation of Saint Anthony</i> .	1615 William Harvey discovers blood circulation.	
1617-1619 Mora: Plaza Mayor, Madrid.	1616 Agrippa d'Aubigné: <i>Les Tragiques</i> .	
		1618 Defenestration of Prague. Beginning of the Thirty Years War.
1620 Crescenzi: Pantheon at the Escorial.	1620 Francis Bacon: <i>Novum Organum</i> .	1620 <i>Mayflower</i> pilgrims sail to America.
1623 Bernini: <i>Apollo and Daphne</i> (Borghese Gallery, Rome).	1623 Giambattista Marino: <i>Adone</i> . Birth of Pascal (d. 1662). Campanella: <i>Civitas Solis</i> .	1623-1644 Pontificate of Urban VIII.
1624 Bernini: <i>baldicchino</i> in Saint Peter's, Rome.	1624 Opening of the salon of the marquise de Rambouillet.	
		1625 Charles I succeeds James I as king of England.
	1627 Birth of Bossuet (d. 1704).	
1628 Birth of Girardon (d. 1715).		
1628-1647 Bernini: tomb of Urban VIII at Saint Peter's, Rome.		
1629 F. Duquesnoy: Saint Susanna (Santa Maria di Loreto, Rome).	1629 Birth of Huygens (d. 1695).	1629-1632 English take Quebec.
1631 B. Longhena begins the Santa Maria della Salute, Venice.	1630 Tirso de Molina: <i>El burlador de Sevilla</i> .	

Political and religious
events in France

1635 Entry of France into the war against Spain.

1638 Birth of Louis XIV (d. 1715).

1642 Death of Richelieu.

1643 Death of Louis XIII. Anne of Austria regent.
Mazarin minister.
Spanish army destroyed at Rocroy by the duc d'Enghien.

1648 Beginning of the Fronde by Parlement.

French artists and painting in France

1632 Death of Valentin in Rome (b. 1591).

1636 Birth of La Fosse (d. 1716).

c. 1636-1638 Galerie des Hommes Illustres in the Palais-Cardinal, Paris (Vouet, Champagne).

1638 Death of Blanchard.
Poussin: *Shepherds in Arcadia* (Louvre).
Beginning of Vouet's projects at the Hôtel Segulier, Paris (chapel, upper and lower galleries).

1640-1642 Poussin in Paris.

1643 Le Nain: *Smoking Den* (Louvre).

1645-1648 Le Sueur: Series of the *Life of Saint Bruno*.

1646-1647 Le Sueur: Cabinet de l'Amour, Hôtel Lambert, Paris.
Romanelli: decoration of the upper gallery of the Hôtel Mazarin, Paris (now the Bibliothèque Nationale).

1647-1650 Le Sueur: Cabinet des Muses, Hôtel Lambert, Paris.

1648 Founding of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, Paris.
Death of Antoine Le Nain and of Louis Le Nain.

Painting abroad

1632 Van Dyck in London.
Birth of Vermeer (d. 1675).

1633-1637 Pietro da Cortona, *Glorification of the Rule of Urban VIII* (ceiling fresco in the Great Hall, Barberini Palace, Rome).

1635-1636 Velázquez: *The Surrender of Breda* (Prado).

1637 Van Dyck: *Portrait of Charles I* (Louvre).

1638-1639 Zurbarán: large decoration for the charterhouse of Jerez.

1640 Death of Rubens (b. 1577).

1641 Death of Van Dyck (b. 1599).

1642 Rembrandt: *Nightwatch* (Amsterdam).
Ribera: *Club-Footed Man* (Louvre).

1646 Murillo: *Food of the Angels* (Louvre).

Architecture, sculpture, engraving,
and decorative arts in France and abroad

1633 F. Duquesnoy: *Saint Andrew* (Saint Peter's, Rome).
Callot: *Disasters of War*.

1635 Lemercier: Church of the Sorbonne,
Paris.

1638-1641 Borromini: monastery of San Carlo
alle Quattro Fontane, Rome.

1639 C. Mellan returns to Paris, Graveur
Ordinaire du Roi.

1645-1652 Bernini: *Ecstasy of Saint Theresa*
(Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome).

1647 S. Gullain: monument on the Pont-au-
Change, Paris.

1648-1651 Bernini: Fountain of the Four
Rivers (Piazza Navona, Rome).

Literature, philosophy, music,
and the sciences in France and abroad

1632 Galileo: *Dialogo... sopra i due massimi
sistemi del mondo*.
Birth of Leeuwenhoeck (d. 1723).

1633 Galileo tried and condemned in Rome by
the Inquisition.

1635 Founding of the Académie Française.
Death of Lope de Vega (b. 1562).

1636 Corneille: *Le Cid*.

1637 Descartes: *Le Discours de la méthode*.

1639 Birth of Racine (d. 1699).

1640 Jansen: *Augustinus*.
Founding of the Royal Press.

1642 Monteverdi: *Incoronazione di Poppea*.

1643 Molière founds the Illustre Théâtre.

1644 Torricelli: invention of the barometer.

1646 Birth of Leibniz (d. 1716).

Political events abroad

1636 Founding of Harvard University.

1641 Cromwell begins rise to power in
England.

1642 Founding of Montreal.

1644-1655 Pontificate of Innocent X.

1648 Treaty of Westphalia.

Political and religious
events in France

1649 Beginning of the Fronde by the princes.

1652 Louis XIV returns to Paris.

1653 End of the Fronde.

1654 Coronation of Louis XIV at Reims.

1658 Battle of the Dunes. English capture
Dunkirk.

1660 Marriage of Louis XIV to Maria Theresa
of Austria.

1661 Death of Mazarin. Beginning of the reign
of Louis XIV.
Disgrace of Fouquet.

French artists and painting in France

1649 Death of Vouet.

1650 La Tour: *The Denial of Saint Peter*
(Nantes).

1652 Death of La Tour (b. 1593).

1653 La Hyre: *Death of the Children of Bethel*
(Arras).

1655 Death of Le Sueur.

1656 Death of La Hyre (b. 1606).
Birth of Largillierre (d. 1746).

1657 Death of Stella (b. 1596).

1657-1663 Bourdon: decoration of the gallery
of the Hôtel de Bretonvilliers, Paris
(destroyed).

1659 Birth of Rigaud (d. 1743).

1661 Birth of A. Coypel (d. 1722).

1662 Philippe de Champaigne: *Ex-Voto*
(Louvre).

1663 P. Mignard: fresco for the dome of the
Val-de-Grâce, Paris.

1664 Poussin: Series of the *Seasons* (Louvre).

1665 Death of Poussin in Rome (b. 1594).

1666 Founding of the Académie de France,
Rome.

1666-1688 Félibien: *Entretiens sur les vies et les
ouvrages des plus excellents peintres*.

Painting abroad

1649-1651 Velázquez in Rome, *Portrait of
Innocent X* (Pamphili Gallery, Rome).

1656 Velázquez: *Las Meninas* (Prado).

1657 Death of Honthorst (b. 1590).
Birth of Solimena (d. 1747).

1660 Death of Velázquez (b. 1599).

c. 1660 Jacob van Ruisdael: *Jewish Cemetery*
(Dresden).
Vermeer: *View of Delft* (The Hague).

1664 Death of Zurbarán (b. 1598).
Frans Hals: *Regents of the Old Men's Alms
House* (Haarlem).

1665 Vermeer: *Artist in His Studio* (Vienna).

1666 Death of Guercino (b. 1591).
Carreno de Miranda: *Founding of the
Trinitarian Order* (Louvre).
Death of Frans Hals (b. about 1581-
1585).

Architecture, sculpture, engraving,
and decorative arts in France and abroad

Literature, philosophy, music,
and the sciences in France and abroad

Political events abroad

1657 Le Vau begins Vaux-le-Vicomte.

1657-1663 Bernini: square and colonnade of
Saint Peter's, Rome.

1661 Le Vau begins Versailles.

1662 Le Vau begins the Collège des Quatre
Nations, Paris.
Founding of the Manufacture Royale des
Gobelins.

1663 P. de Mena: Saint Francis (Cathedral of
Toledo).

1664 Founding of the Manufacture Royale de
Tapisserie de Beauvais.

1665 Bernini in Paris.

1666 Girardon: *Apollo and the Nymphs of Thetis*
(Versailles).

1666-1670 Le Vau, Perrault, Le Brun: Louvre
colonnade.

1651-1657 Scarron: *Le Roman comique*.

1654 Quinault: *Renaud et Armide*.

1657 Pascal: *Les Provinciales*.

1658 Creation of the Académie des Sciences.

1660 Birth of Defoe (d. 1731)
Condemnation of *Les Provinciales*.

1664 Molière: *Tartuffe*.

1665 Molière: *Don Juan*.

1649 Execution of Charles I of England.

1655-1667 Pontificate of Alexander VII.

1658 Death of Cromwell

1663 Canada becomes a royal colony of the
French crown.

1664 New Amsterdam seized by the British,
who rename it New York.

1665 Death of Philip IV. Charles II king of
Spain.
Holland cedes New Amsterdam (New
York) to England.

Political and religious
events in France

1667-1668 War of Devolution.

1668 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

1672 Louis XIV moves to Versailles.

1672-1678 Dutch War.

1678-1693 Conflict with Rome (provoked by
the question of the royal prerogative).

1678-1679 Treaties of Nijmegen (between the
United Provinces and France).

1683 Death of Colbert (prime minister, 1661-
1683) and of Maria Theresa.

French artists and painting in France

1670 Death of Vignon (b. 1593).

1671 Lecture by Philippe de Champaigne at
the Académie Royale, Paris, on Titian's
Virgin with Rabbit (Louvre).
Beginning of the quarrel between the
Poussinists and the Rubenists.

1673 The Académie (Salon) holds its first
exhibition; Le Brun's *Battles of Alexander*
shown.
Roger de Piles: *Dialogue sur le Coloris*.

1675 Death of Dughet (b. 1615).

1677 Death of Mathieu Le Nain (b. 1607).

1679 Le Brun begins the decoration of the
Galerie des Glaces, Versailles.

1682 Death of Claude in Rome.

Painting abroad

1669 Death of Rembrandt.

1672 Valdés Leal: *Hieroglyphs of Our Last Days*
(Seville).

1673 Death of Salvator Rosa (b. 1615).

1674-1679 Gaulli: ceiling of Gesù at Rome.

1675 Sandrart: *Der Teutschen Academie*.

1681 Baldinucci: *Notizie de' professori del disegno
da Cimabue in giù*.

1682 Birth of Piazzetta (d. 1754).

Architecture, sculpture, engraving,
and decorative arts in France and abroad

Literature, philosophy, music,
and the sciences in France and abroad

Political events abroad

1668 Guarini begins the Church of San Lorenzo, Turin.

1671 Founding of the Académie Royale d'Architecture.

1671-1678 Bernini: tomb of Alexander VII (Saint Peter's, Rome).

1675 Grupello: marble fountain in the fish market, Brussels.

1675-1690 Girardon: tomb of Richelieu.

1675-1710 Christopher Wren: reconstruction of Saint Paul's Cathedral, London.

1678 J.-H. Mansart enlarges Versailles and builds the Galerie des Glaces.

before 1679-1691 J.-H. Mansart: Church of Les Invalides, Paris.

1681 F. Herrera the Younger begins Nuestra Señora del Pilar, the cathedral at Saragossa.

1682 Puget: *Milo of Croton* (Louvre).
Creation of the Compagnie de Saint-Gobain.

1667 Racine: *Andromaque*.
Milton: *Paradise Lost*.

1668 Birth of François Couperin (d. 1733).

1670 Spinoza: *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*.
Bossuet: *Oraison funèbre d'Henriette d'Angleterre*.

1671 Beginning of Mme de Sévigné's correspondence with her daughter, the comtesse de Grignan.

1673 Lully: *Cadmus et Hermione*.

1674 Boileau: *L'Art poétique*.

1675 Birth of Saint-Simon (d. 1755).

1677 Death of Spinoza (b. 1632).

1678 Birth of Vivaldi (d. 1743).
Mme de La Fayette: *La Princesse de Clèves*.

1680 Founding of the Comédie Française.

1682 Newton formulates the law of gravity.

1683 Birth of J.-P. Rameau (d. 1764).

1667-1669 Pontificate of Clement IX.

1670-1676 Pontificate of Clement X.

1673 French expeditions up the Mississippi River.

1676-1689 Pontificate of Innocent XI.

1681 First government by Frontenac in Canada.

1683 Siege of Vienna by the Turks.

Political and religious events in France	French artists and painting in France	Painting abroad
	1684 Birth of Watteau (d. 1721).	1684 Gregorio de Ferrari: frescoes in the Room of Ruins, Balbi Palace, Genoa.
1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1598).	1685 Birth of J.-M. Nattier (d. 1766).	
	1686 Largillierre: <i>Portrait of Le Brun (morceau de réception</i> for the Académie; Louvre).	
	1688 Birth of Lemoyne (d. 1737).	
1689-1697 War of the League of Augsburg.	1688-1714 Paintings for the marble Trianon (Jouvenet, La Fosse, N. and A. Coypel, Houasse, L. and B. de Boullongne, among others).	1689 Hobbema: <i>The Avenue, Middelbarnis</i> (National Gallery, London).
	1690 Death of Le Brun. P. Mignard made Premier Peintre.	
1691 Death of Louvois (principal minister, 1683-1691).		1691-1694 Padre Andrea Pozzo: ceiling of S. Ignazio, Rome.
	1695 Death of P. Mignard.	
1697 Treaty of Ryswick.	1697 Jouvenet: <i>Descent from the Cross</i> (Louvre).	1696 Birth of G. B. Tiepolo (d. 1770).
		1697 Birth of Hogarth (d. 1764) and of Canaletto (d. 1768).
	1699 Birth of Chardin (d. 1779). Desportes: <i>Self-Portrait as a Hunter (morceau de réception</i> for the Académie; Louvre).	

Architecture, sculpture, engraving, and decorative arts in France and abroad	Literature, philosophy, music, and the sciences in France and abroad	Political events abroad
1686 Construction of the Place des Victoires, Paris.	1685 Birth of Johann Sebastian Bach (d. 1750) and of Handel (d. 1759).	1684 Withdrawal of charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
1688 J.-H. Mansart builds the Grand Trianon.	1687 Lully: <i>Armide</i> .	
1689-1693 Coysevox: tomb of Mazarin (Institut de France, Paris).	1688 La Bruyère: <i>Les Caractères</i> . Birth of Marivaux (d. 1763).	
	1688-1697 Perrault: <i>Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes</i> .	1689 Peter the Great seizes power in Russia.
	1689 Birth of Montesquieu (d. 1755).	1689-1691 Pontificate of Alexander VIII.
	1689 Purcell: <i>Dido and Aeneas</i> .	
	1690 C. Huygens publishes <i>Traité de la Lumière</i> . Locke: <i>Essay Concerning Human Under- standing</i> .	1691-1700 Pontificate of Innocent XII.
1695 Fischer von Erlach begins the construc- tion of Schönbrunn.	1691 Racine: <i>Athalie</i> .	
1695-1699 Esterhazy Palace, Vienna.	1694 Birth of Voltaire (d. 1778). Dictionary of the Académie.	
1696-1709 A. Schlüter: equestrian statue of Frederick II (Berlin).	1695 Death of La Fontaine (b. 1621).	1697-1698 Voyage of Peter the Great to the West.
1698 Birth of Bouchardon (d. 1768).		
1698-1720 J.-H. Mansart: Place Vendôme.		
1698-1710 R. de Cotte: chapel of the château de Versailles.		
1699 H.-F. Verbruggen: wooden chair in Brussels Cathedral. Girardon: equestrian statue of Louis XIV in Paris.	1699 Fénelon: <i>Télémaque</i> .	1700 Philip V king of Spain.

Seventeenth-Century French Paintings

The exhibition, as mentioned earlier, has three aims: to present and study, from several aspects, one hundred twenty-four of the finest French seventeenth-century paintings in the United States; to provide as complete an inventory as possible of the paintings of this period housed in American collections; and to offer French and American visitors to the exhibition a varied and comprehensive panorama — one that does justice to the richness of American collections — of a century of French painting that remains largely misunderstood, not only by the public at large but often by art historians as well.

This part of the catalogue is divided into the following eleven sections:

- I The French Caravagguesque Painters.
- II Georges de La Tour.
- III Nicolas Poussin.
- IV The Generation of French Painters Who Resided in Italy.
- V Painters from Lorraine and Provence.
- VI The Le Nain Brothers.
- VII The First School of Paris.
- VIII Landscape: The Classical Tradition and the Appeal of the North.
- IX Portraiture.
- X Still Life.
- XI Le Brun and Mignard: The End of an Era.

As the titles indicate, different and somewhat arbitrary principles have governed the choice of content for these sections; some are devoted to a single artist or group of artists (La Tour, the Le Nains, and of course, Poussin),

others to a genre (still life, portraiture, landscape). The French part of a European movement (Caravaggism) is the subject of one section (I); a school, or trend (Paris Atticism, 1635-1650), is the subject of another (VII). We have grouped together works painted in Italy (e.g., François de Nomé and Mellin) or in France (e.g., Deruet and Levieux) by artists born in Lorraine or in Provence; neither Georges de La Tour nor Claude Lorrain, two of the century's greatest artists, is included in this section, although an entire section is devoted to the former, and the major part of the landscape section is devoted to the latter.

It is, we feel, unnecessary to separate works painted in Italy by French artists from works painted after those same artists returned to France; such a division, often difficult to maintain, would hardly be intellectually convincing. By the same token, works by a particular artist are not always grouped in the same section; paintings by Bourdon and Champaigne, for example, are in sections IV and VII, respectively, and in the sections on Landscape (VIII) and Portraiture (IX) as well. Similarly, portraits painted by Blanchard, Vignon, Régnier, and Le Sueur have been grouped together to illustrate both the unity and variety of a genre that was practiced throughout France during the seventeenth century, not only by the specialist but also by the occasional portraitist. In the case of Poussin, we would not presume to separate the landscapes from the rest of his work.

We have also attempted to delineate the stylistic evolution of French painting during this period, which includes the assassination of Henry IV and the diplomatic and military triumphs of Louis XIV. After the brilliant phase of Caravaggism (I), which gradually declined with Vouet's return to France (1627) and Valentin's death in Rome (1632), Paris for the first time in its history became a European center of painting. Two quite different but compatible currents of inspiration evolved and flourished at this time: that of painters who lived in Italy and were therefore more receptive to Venetian, Bolognese, and Roman influences (IV), and that of the group of younger artists, some of whom were born in the North (e.g., Champaigne and the still-life painters), who knew Italy only through engravings or paintings in Paris collections (VII).

Finally, with the deaths of Lebrun (1690) and Mignard (1695), an era in the history of French painting drew to a close. Admittedly, certain of their contemporaries remained attached to the vocabulary of their predecessors; Jean-Baptiste Champaigne, for example, was directly inspired by his uncle Philippe, Colombel by Poussin, and Verdier by Le Brun. But already a new generation of artists — La Fosse (b. 1636), Michel Corneille (b. 1642), Jouvenet (b. 1644), Louis de Boullogne (b. 1654), Antoine Coyvel (b. 1661), as well as the portraitists François de Troy (b. 1645), Largillierre (b. 1656),

and Rigaud (b. 1659) — was turning to other models and opening the way to new approaches. It could be said that with the death of Louis XIV (whose long reign is still often associated with the seventeenth century rather than the eighteenth, despite the fact that during his lifetime the Le Nain brothers and Poussin died and Boucher and Chardin were born) these and other artists (Watteau by 1715 had only six years to live) created an original style that owed little to such painters as Vignon, Linard, Vouet, and La Tour.

Is this panorama of paintings an exhaustive one? Can it be described as complete, and does it include all important trends and major artists? Although one might regret the absence of a still life by Baugin, a battle scene by Joseph Parrocel (1646-1704), a van der Meulen (in France from 1664 on), a painting by Puget or one by Bellange, a particular Claude or a certain late Poussin, this presentation of seventeenth-century French painting has, we feel, no glaring omissions and will, we hope, renew our vision of a century that has yet to reveal all its secrets.



I. The French Caravaggesque Painters

Following the death of Annibale Carracci in 1609 and Caravaggio in 1610, Rome was considered more than ever before the center of European painting. France during this period was undergoing economic turbulence and political upheaval; and in the artistic arena as well, even if art historians early in the twentieth century have somewhat exaggerated the seriousness of the crisis in which French painting found itself, the situation was short of brilliant. It is therefore understandable that the generation of artists born between 1590 and 1600 turned to Italy and wanted, almost without exception, to live in Rome.

In Rome the young artists studied the monuments of antiquity and the great works of Raphael and Michelangelo. But it was above all in the works of the Carracci and of Caravaggio that they found a modernity that inspired them and that served as a model. While the influence of the Carracci was vigorously felt after 1620, the first artists to arrive in Rome found their inspiration in Caravaggio, whose work displayed a brutal, often provoking realism and who sought to depict life as it is known rather than to imitate the style of the Renaissance masters. Caravaggio's revolutionary approach, his desire to humanize the world of the Bible and to portray the dignity of the ordinary man attracted an entire generation of artists, among them Vouet and Valentin, Vignon and Tournier. But only the greatest artists could grasp this approach, redefine it, and adapt it to their own vision. In any case, none of the French artists living in Rome between 1610 and 1620 could resist its seductive power.

We shall not once again review the history of French Caravaggism, as this has already been admirably done by Jacques Thuillier, Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée, and Jean-Pierre Cuzin in the catalogue of the exhibition devoted to the French Caravaggesque painters held in Rome and Paris in 1973-1974. It

does, however, seem useful to discuss the following points. It might seem somewhat illusory to confine ourselves to the French part of a movement that originated and evolved in Rome and whose essential character is its internationalism. We are well aware of this problem, a problem that has troubled all those who have been interested in Caravaggism, from Longhi to Nicolson. The fact remains, however, that there are certain features that can be designated "French" in the works of Valentin and Vouet: restraint, sadness, and a love of elegance. The melancholic reserve of Valentin would reemerge later in the century in the work of the Le Nains, and the skillful juxtaposition of colors in the canvases of Vouet would be seen in the eighteenth century in the works of such artists as Boucher.

It is precisely these characteristics which have led us to include in the exhibition works that must for the present remain anonymous but are nevertheless the embodiment of French Caravaggism. To deny the French nature of these paintings (Nos. 123, 124) would be as absurd as to ignore the Dutch element in the Paris works of Van Gogh, the Spanish element in the works of Picasso and Juan Gris, or the Italian nature of the works of Modigliani.

Almost all the paintings in the first section of the catalogue were executed in Rome. Some of the artists who painted them, of whom Valentin is the most famous, died in Rome; others returned to their country of origin. Vouet and Vignon established themselves in Paris, Guy François in Le Puy, and Nicolas Tournier in Toulouse. However, whereas Vouet and Vignon soon renounced Caravaggism for a much brighter style — more decorative and Bolognese in Vouet's case, more narrative and romanesque in Vignon's — the Caravaggesque painters who continued their careers in the provinces tried to introduce the style of their Roman years with little, if any, modification. It would not be wrong to suggest — and the exhibition tends to support this theory — that Paris was indeed the only place in France not affected by the Caravaggesque movement.

The Caravaggesque section of the catalogue also gives an indication of the interest in this period that has for many years been present in the United States. Valentin is well represented, particularly since the acquisition by the Cleveland Museum of the Barberini *Samson* (No. 110). The Toledo Museum has been enriched by the Rutland *Fortune Teller* (No. 106). St. Louis and Detroit both have major works — the former by Tournier (No. 105), the latter by Regnier (No. 96; see also No. 95 in the section on portraiture). For the first time, the Washington *Still Life with Melons and Carafe* (No. 81) by the Pensionante del Saraceni will hang alongside the Detroit *Fruit Vendor* (No. 80) by the same artist, an artist who was in all probability French and whose very individual works have been grouped together under a name of

convenience. Works by Vouet from both his Rome and Paris periods are numerous in the United States, and the same may be said for Vignon; indeed, it would not be surprising to discover in an American museum several works by this artist that had until now been incorrectly attributed.

We have tried to exhibit many works to which new (and sometimes daring) attributions have recently been given, and we are entirely aware of their provisional nature. Is the *Saraceni* in the Hartford Museum (No. 29) by Guy François, as we believe it to be? It is hoped that the exhibition will lead to verification of this attribution. And was *Death Comes to the Table* (No. 124), which Richard Spear included in his brilliant 1971 exhibition on Caravaggism held in Cleveland, painted by a Florentine artist, as many scholars today believe, or rather by a Caravaggesque painter living in Rome? Furthermore, if the artist was in fact living in Rome, was he Flemish or was he French? In any event, it is apparent that Caravaggism is one area of French painting in which many facts remain undivulged.



Anonymous, *Saint Matthew and the Angel*, 108 × 124 cm. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota (No. 123).



Valentin, *The Fortune Teller*, 142.5 × 238.5 cm. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (No. 106).



Valentin, *Allegory of Virtuous Love (Amor di Virtù)*, 123 × 73.5 cm. Anonymous loan (No. 107).



Valentin, *Saint John the Evangelist*, 97.5 × 134 cm. The Ackland Art Museum, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (No. 108).



Valentin, *David with the Head of Goliath*, 139 × 103 cm.
Collection of Michael and Jo Ellen Brunner, Fountain Valley, California (No. 109)



Valentin, *Samson*, 135.5 × 103 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund (No. 110).



Nicolas Tournier, *Banquet Scene with Lute Player*, 120.5 × 165.5 cm. The St. Louis Art Museum (No. 105).



The Pensionante del Saraceni, *The Fruit Vendor*, 130 × 98 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Edsel B. Ford (No. 80).





Guy François, *The Holy Family in Joseph's Workshop*, 113 × 84 cm.
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (No. 29).



Anonymous, *Death Comes to the Table*, 120.5 × 174 cm. New Orleans Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. William Helis, Sr. (No. 124).



Nicolas Régnier, *The Penitent Magdalen*, 122 × 96.5 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mrs. Trent McMath (No. 96).



Simon Vouet, *Saint Margaret*, 99 × 74 cm.
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (No. 115).



Simon Vouet, *Saint Ursula (?)*, 99 × 74 cm.
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (No. 116).



Simon Vouet, *Angel Holding the Signpost from the Cross*, 104.5 × 78.5 cm.
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund (No. 118).



Simon Vouet, *Angel Holding the Vessel of Pontius Pilate*, 104.5 × 78.5 cm.
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The John R. Van Derlip Fund (No. 119).



Simon Vouet, *Saint Jerome and the Angel*, 145 × 180 cm. The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection 1961 (No. 117).



Simon Vouet, *The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John*, diam. 80 cm.
The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mildred Anna Williams Fund (No. 120).



Claude Vignon, *Saint Ambrose*, 187.5 × 127.5 cm.
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The William Hood Dunwoody Fund (No. 112).



Claude Vignon, *Esther Before Ahasuerus*, 110.5 × 170.5 cm. Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina (No. 114).



II.

Georges de La Tour

In 1973 we could write that “American museums possessed... six paintings” by Georges de La Tour. Today the number has grown to eleven, which represents almost a third of the artist’s entire œuvre — in our opinion, thirty-nine original paintings. In addition to the famous canvases at New York (the *Fortune Teller*, No. 39), Malibu (the *Musicians’ Brawl*, No. 37), and Cleveland (the *Saint Peter Repentant*, No. 40), there are now in the United States three of the four known nocturnal Magdalens: the Wrightsman *Magdalen* (Metropolitan Museum), the Fabius *Magdalen at the Mirror* (Washington, D.C.), and the *Magdalen with the Flickering Flame* (Los Angeles). Besides these, Fort Worth has just acquired the *Cheat with the Ace of Clubs* (No. 38), which until recently was at Geneva and is being exhibited here for the first time since its acquisition and restoration. The near doubling of the number of La Tours in the United States is indicative of the increasing popularity of an artist whose works could not be found in any American museum before 1938, when the Detroit Institute acquired a fragment of the *Education of the Virgin* (also called the *Girl with Candle*; see Inventory).

We shall not again review the life of Georges de La Tour; but the six paintings catalogued here will serve as an introduction. Five are daylight scenes; the sixth is a nocturnal scene and is of particular importance because it is one of the only two legibly dated works (1645; No. 40). Do these six works provide a good picture of Georges de La Tour’s development? We believe they do, even though the painter of the night scenes (almost without exception paintings with religious subjects) remains more popular than the painter of the daylight scenes — despite the successive, albeit ephemeral, scandals surrounding the *Fortune Teller*. Admittedly, the five paintings that depict scenes from everyday life illustrate only one aspect of the artist’s

genius; inspired by traveling theatricals, comedies, and farces, these brutal works depict, without compassion for the victims, youth betrayed and innocence deceived and the violent confrontations between the most ill-favored of mankind. But is this world so very different from that of the Magdalens, of *Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene* (of which Detroit and Kansas City possess beautiful copies; see Inventory), and of the *Newborn Child* (Rennes)? Initially, they seem entirely opposite realms: the daylight scenes are without the peaceful contemplation, the silence, the deeply felt emotion that suffuses the night scenes. And yet none of these works could have been created in this manner had it not been for the Caravaggesque revolution, which made man once again, with his anguish and his doubts, the focus of the painter's attention. Was La Tour directly acquainted with any of Caravaggio's works, as we believe he was? Did he make the journey to Italy, like so many artists of his generation (he was born in 1593, the same year as Vignon, three years after Vouet, two years after Valentin, one year before Poussin) and like so many artists from Lorraine (Callot, Leclerc, Mellin, Claude, François de Nomé, and Deruet)? Although we are unable to verify our claim, we believe that he did.

In any case, it was in Lorraine, which, despite the ravages of two wars was still semi-independent and a thriving artistic and intellectual center, that La Tour created his masterpieces. The last magnificent reflections of a Caravaggism that was already outmoded, these works, isolated from the mainstream but nevertheless appreciated in their own time, have once again taken their rightful place in the history of French painting — to the detriment, it might be added, of official painting, which was no less refined and, in fact, more admired during the following two centuries. A valid appraisal of La Tour's work, although long overdue, should not, however, be permitted to eclipse official painting in its importance.



Georges de La Tour, *The Musicians' Brawl*, 94.5 × 142 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (No. 37).



Georges de La Tour, *Old Man*, 91 × 69.5 cm.
The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection (No. 35).



Georges de La Tour, *Old Woman*, 91.5 × 60.5 cm.
The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection (No. 36).





Georges de La Tour, *The Cheat with the Ace of Clubs*, 96.5 × 154.9 cm. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth (No. 38).



No. 39,
detail.



No. 39,
detail.



Georges de La Tour, *The Fortune Teller*, 102 × 123.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund (No. 39).
(The photograph of the painting was taken in the course of restoration.)



Georges de La Tour, *Saint Peter Repentant*, 114.5 × 95 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Hanna Fund (No. 40).



III.

Nicolas Poussin

One might well believe that everything which could be written about Nicolas Poussin — with Cézanne, one of the two greatest and most revered artists in the history of French painting — had already been written. This is not, however, the case. To begin with, how can one describe as French an artist who spent the major part of his life and career in Italy? Admittedly, by the time he had established himself permanently in Rome — apart from the difficult interlude in Paris from 1640 to 1642 — he was already thirty years old and his formal training was essentially complete. Although he had rejected Caravaggism, which was by then out of fashion, he showed himself responsive to the example of the Renaissance masters, and he embraced the world of antiquity as his own. In Italy, moreover, men of letters and patrons of the arts were among his most loyal friends and staunch defenders. How then can it be explained that Poussin has always been considered not only a French painter but also the symbol of France's pictorial genius? In truth, like the many artists of various countries established in Montparnasse and Montmartre in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who needed Paris in order to paint, Poussin needed Rome; he needed the stimulation of what was then the center for modern painting.

Poussin's work continues to present various problems, problems of attribution (particularly for works dating from before 1630), of authenticity, of chronology, of intention, and of interpretation. One or more of these questions must be raised in a discussion of nearly all the paintings by Poussin in the exhibition. Are the two works *Landscape with Nymphs and Satyr* (No. 84) and the *Assumption of the Virgin* (No. 88) in fact painted by Poussin? Is the *Nurture of Jupiter* (No. 92) an autograph work? What date should be given to the Boston *Mars and Venus* (No. 86)? Does the *Rape of the Sabine Women* in the

Metropolitan Museum (No. 90) precede or follow the canvas of the same subject in the Louvre? It should be noted, in this context, that only since 1979 do we know the precise date of the *Landscape with Saint John on Patmos* (No. 91). What is the real meaning of the *Blind Orion* (No. 94)? The meaning of *Diana and Endymion*, at Detroit (No. 87)? Of the *Triumph of Neptune* (No. 89)?

The paintings have been carefully selected from the rich harvest of works by Poussin in American museums, which includes more than thirty original paintings. They have been selected not only to enable us to confront and, it is hoped, to solve the problems they pose but also to show the variety and vitality of Poussin's work, his stylistic evolution, and the complexity of his spiritual odyssey. Poussin's art — whether religious or mythological, landscape or legend — which remains today a source of inspiration for painters and writers alike, is the expression of the creative force of an artist who was, to be sure, ambitious in his approach to painting.



Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with Nymphs and Satyr (Amor Vincit Omnia)*, 97 × 127.5 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of J. H. Wade (No. 84).



Nicolas Poussin, *The Death of Germanicus*, 148 × 198 cm. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The William Hood Dunwoody Fund (No. 85).



Nicolas Poussin, *Mars and Venus*, 155 × 213.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Augustus Hemenway and Arthur Wheelwright Funds (No. 86).



Nicolas Poussin, *Diana and Endymion*, 121 × 168 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, General Membership and Donations Fund (No. 87).



Nicolas Poussin, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 134.5 × 98 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund 1963 (No. 88).



Nicolas Poussin, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, 154.5 × 210 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund (No. 90).



Nicolas Poussin, *The Triumph of Neptune*, 144.5 × 147 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, George W. Elkins Collection (No. 89).



Nicolas Poussin, *The Nurture of Jupiter*, 117.5 × 155.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection 1952 (No. 92).



Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with Saint John on Patmos*, 102 × 136 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, A. A. Munger Collection (No. 91).





Nicolas Poussin, *The Holy Family*, 98 × 129.5 cm. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Gift, Mrs. Samuel Sachs in memory of her husband, Samuel Sachs (No. 93).





Nicolas Poussin, *The Blind Orion Searching for the Rising Sun*, 119 × 183 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund (No. 94).



IV.

The Generation of French Painters Who Resided in Italy

As the first section of the catalogue shows, the French painters born between 1590 and 1600 who lived in Rome for different lengths of time were all deeply marked by Caravaggism. Two of the artists in the present section, while born in 1596 and around 1590, respectively, knew Italy at a time when the influence of Caravaggio was in decline; hence, they remained almost untouched by the great Lombard painter. Jacques Stella was far more sensitive, first, to Florentine painting and, then, to the work of Poussin; and François Perrier took Lanfranco as his model, sometimes almost to the point of painting pastiches of his work. All the other painters grouped in this section were born after 1600. Their sojourns in Italy were of varying duration, but all were long enough to distinguish their work from that of their contemporaries who had not made the journey (see Section VII). Some of them — Bourdon, in the first stages of his versatile career, and Tassel — responded to the *bambocciate*, the popular form of Caravaggism. Others, among them Baugin, modeled their work on the Mannerist style of Parma. And still others found themselves drawn to Venetian painting. All of them found inspiration in some current of Italian painting, although none, not even Perrier, based his work exclusively on the Italian model.

Some of the paintings in this section were executed in Italy: the two Stellas of 1631 were undoubtedly painted in Rome (Nos. 98, 99), as were, very probably, others such as the Perrier (No. 82) and the first Bourdon (No. 7). Other works were painted in Paris: Stella's painting for Richelieu (No. 100), his painting from the Brienne collection (No. 102), and Bourdon's *Finding of Moses* (No. 11), one of the artist's most accomplished works in the classical vein. Whether painted in Italy or in Paris, these works bear witness to the diversity of seventeenth-century French painting. Not only does each of these

painters (regrettably, none has received the monograph he deserves) have a style very much his own, but not one confined himself to only a single genre (a landscape and a portrait by Bourdon and a portrait by Blanchard appear in the sections of the catalogue devoted to these genres), even less to one style whose formula was restated time and again. The careers of Stella and Bourdon exemplify this point, although the work of both artists developed along similar lines, from a realism and direct naturalism toward an increasingly pronounced classicism.

While the works of certain masters, such as Baugin and Perrier, are still rarely found in American museums, those of Bourdon and Stella are present in sufficient numbers to allow selection from among the best. These will, we feel certain, win over a public that, both in France and the United States, remains at times unmoved by canvases regarded as monotonous, cold, and without originality. Such opinion should be altered by Baugin's preciousity and elegance (see No. 1), Blanchard's sensuality (see Nos. 4, 5), Tassel's warm rusticity (see No. 104), Bourdon's chromatic inspirations, and Stella's sophisticated and strangely classical creations.



Sébastien Bourdon, *The Encampment*, diam. 56 cm. Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Gift of John J. Burling in memory of Marguerite Bensinger Burling (No. 7).



Jacques Stella, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, 25 × 35.5 cm. Lent by David Rust (No. 99).



Jacques Stella, *Susannah and the Elders*, 25 × 35.5 cm. Lent by David Rust (No. 98).



Nicolas Chaperon, *The Nurture of Jupiter*, 99 × 136 cm. The Ackland Art Museum, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (No. 19).



François Perrier, *The Deification of Aeneas*, 106.5 × 135 cm. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. J. Seward Johnson, Princeton (No. 82).



Jacques Blanchard, *Angelica and Medoro*, 121.5 × 176 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of George A. Hearn (No. 4).



Jacques Blanchard, *Allegory of Charity*, 108 × 138.5 cm. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (No. 5).



Sébastien Bourdon, *The Departure of Jacob*, 49 × 67 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Gift of The Armand Hammer Foundation and the Occidental Petroleum Company (No. 8).



Sébastien Bourdon, *Landscape with Ford*, 51 × 62 cm. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Purchased Eleanor Lamont Cunningham ('32) Fund (No. 9).



Jean Tassel, *The Judgment of Solomon*, 80.5 × 64.5 cm. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota (No. 104).



Lubin Baugin, *Virgin and Child*, 33 × 24.5 cm. The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, on loan from the collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. (No. 1).



Simon Vouet, *Chronos, Venus, Mars' and Cupid*, 146 × 108 cm. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota (No. 121).



Simon Vouet, *The Toilet of Venus*, 165 × 115 cm. Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Gift of Mrs. Horace Binney Hare, 1952 (No. 122).



Jacques Stella, *The Liberality of Titus*, 178 × 147.5 cm. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Gift in part, Lewis G. Nierman and Charles Nierman, and Purchase in part, Alpheus Hyatt Fund (No. 100).



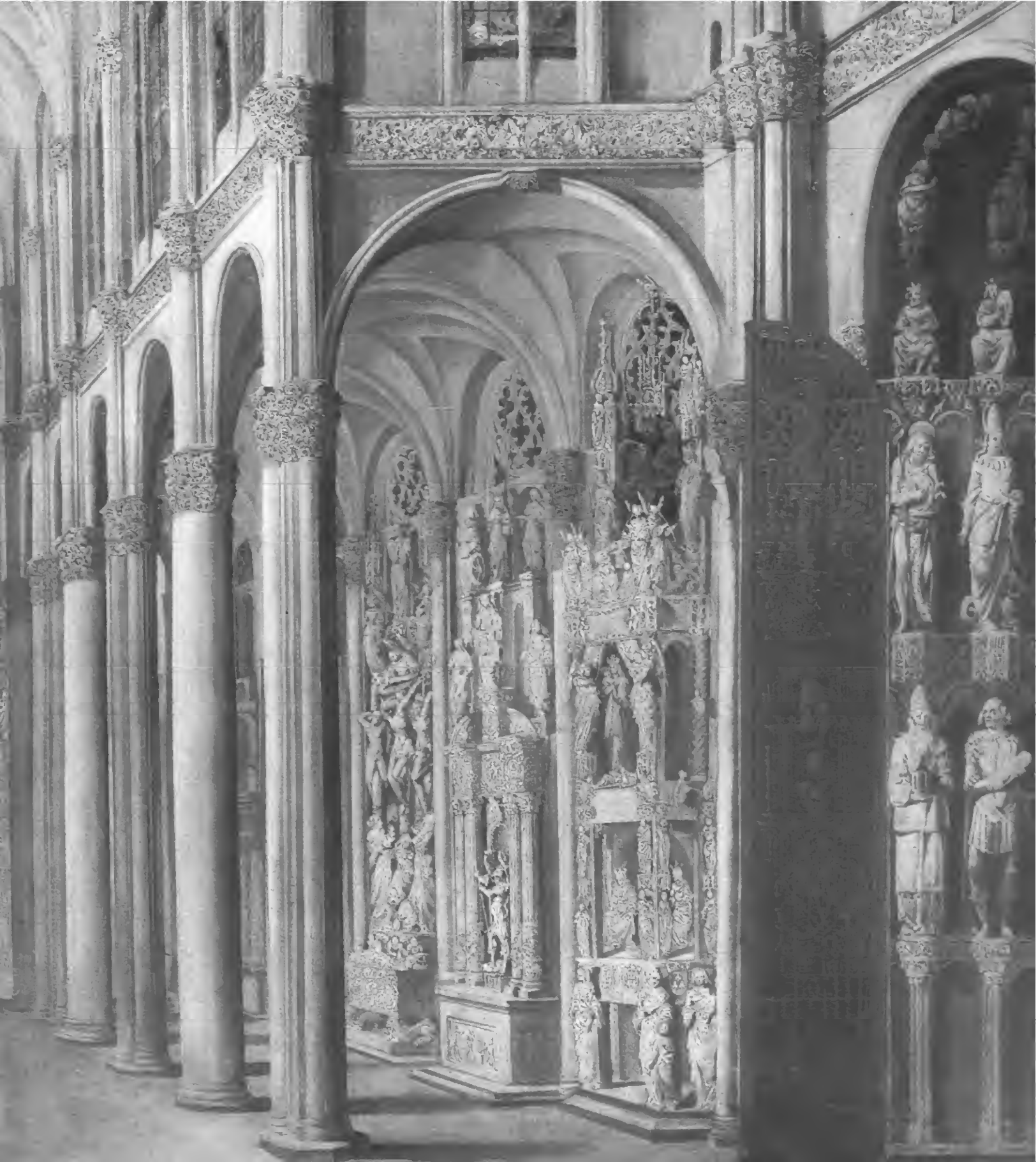
Jacques Stella, *The Rape of the Sabine Women*, 116 × 164 cm. The Art Museum, Princeton University, Museum purchase, with the John Maclean Magie and Gertrude Magie Fund (No. 101).



Jacques Stella, *The Judgment of Paris*, 75 × 99 cm. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (No. 102).



Sébastien Bourdon, *The Finding of Moses*, 119.5 × 173 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection 1961 (No. 11).



V. Painters from Lorraine and Provence

Seventeenth-century scholarship is, even today, too frequently limited to what was painted in Paris and Rome. Yet at this time the great provincial centers — Toulouse, Rouen, Aix-en-Provence, Nancy — experienced a flowering that was quickly effaced by the brutal destructiveness of the Revolution and whose importance is still poorly understood. In this section, we have brought together works by artists from Lorraine and Provence painted in Italy and those by artists who chose to live in these provinces. The two greatest painters of this school (as well as the third great artist, the engraver Jacques Callot), Georges de La Tour and Claude Lorrain, deserve special consideration. The works of the former, all painted in Lorraine, have a section to themselves; those of the latter, all executed in Rome, are of central importance in the section on landscape.

The exhibition held at Marseilles in 1978 gathered together a great deal of what is known about painting in Provence in the seventeenth century and assembled the finest Provençal paintings of the period. Jean Daret (see No. 24) and Nicolas Mignard (see No. 68) played major roles in that exhibition. Neither came from the south of France — Daret, like Champaigne, was born in Brussels, and Mignard, like his “Parisian” brother, came from Troyes — but both pursued their careers in Provence. Not so for the three artists born in the region, Reynaud Levieux (see No. 55), native of Nîmes, and the shadowy Trophime Bigot, insofar as he is the same as the Candlelight Master (see No. 65). Finally, the still life by the Marseilles painter Meiffren Conte (No. 21) appears in the section of the catalogue devoted to that genre. What was done for the painters of Provence at Marseilles in 1978 will be attempted for seventeenth-century painters from Lorraine at the Villa Medici, Rome, and at Nancy in 1982. In the present

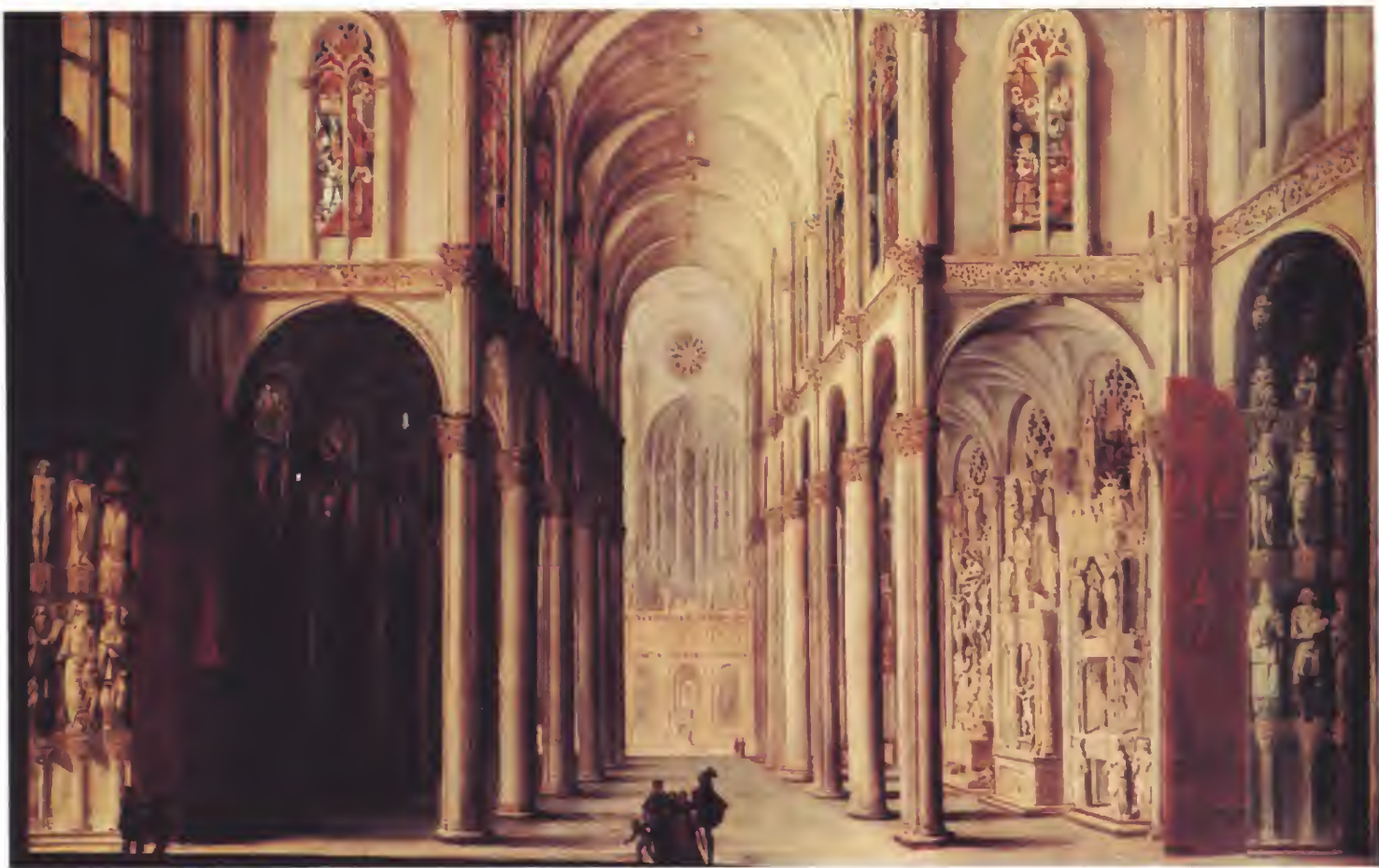
exhibition, there is a work (No. 25) by Claude Deruet (an artist more highly esteemed in his own day than La Tour), most probably painted at Nancy; two masterpieces (Nos. 76, 77) by the mysterious François de Nomé, or “Monsù Desiderio,” probably painted at Naples; and a canvas by Charles Mellin, an artist much discussed in recent years. To this artist — called in Rome and Naples “Carlo Lorenese” — who had his hour of glory in the seventeenth century, have since been wrongly attributed works previously given to Poussin. That Mellin was a talented artist, one who should be rescued from obscurity, is borne out by the painting at Ponce (No. 67). However, the known works by this artist show the limitations of his talent and, in our opinion, do not accord him authorship of most seventeenth-century Poussinesque works, still less of certain works by the great Norman master himself.

Jean Leclerc is another mysterious painter from Lorraine; like the Pensionante del Saraceni (see Nos. 80, 81), he was a student of Saraceni's at Rome and then Venice. Can the Boston painting (No. 42) be attributed to him? With caution, we suggest that it can. It seemed possible, in terms of style, to date it to the period when the artist was active in Lorraine, but its Roman origin, which is generally accepted today, would rule out this hypothesis.

These works are but a few examples of the variety and richness of paintings in the French provinces in the seventeenth century. We have focused on two provinces only and admit that this is a somewhat arbitrary decision. Furthermore, some of the works shown, although painted by artists born in Lorraine, do not owe a great deal to local tradition. It will be the work of a new generation of art historians to study these centers more closely and to discover the characteristics that are unique to each school and so recreate its identity.



Claude Deruet, *The Departure of the Amazons for War*, 51 × 66 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Harry G. Sperling (No. 25).



François de Nomé, *Interior of a Cathedral*, 193 × 315 cm. Private collection, United States (No. 76).



François de Nomé, *The Circumcision in the Temple*, 121 × 148.5 cm. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., B. A. 1913, Fund (No. 77).



Jean Leclerc, *Saint Stephen Mourned by Gamaliel and Nicodemus*, 113 × 155 cm.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, M. Theresa B. Hopkins and Charles Potter Kling Funds (No. 42).



Charles Mellin, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, 98 × 103 cm. Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico, The Luis A. Ferré Foundation (No. 67).



Maître à la Chandelle (The Candlelight Master), *Young Boy Singing*, 67.5 × 49.5 cm.
The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Collis P. Huntington Memorial Collection (No. 65).



Jean Daret, *Woman Playing a Lute*, 125.5 × 96 cm.
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Gabriel Semo (No. 24).



Reynaud Levieux, *The Holy Family with the Sleeping Jesus and Saint John the Baptist*, 80.5 × 75.5 cm.
Mead Art Museum, Amherst College (No. 55).



Nicolas Mignard, *The Shepherd Faustulus Bringing Romulus and Remus to His Wife*, 150.5 × 146.5 cm.
Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Algur H. Meadows and the Meadows Foundation, Inc. (No. 68).



VI.

The Le Nain Brothers

The history of seventeenth-century French painting was for a long time summed up in the names of two artists — Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain. Because these artists lived in Rome for the major part of their careers, it was possible to deny the existence of an independent French school. The rediscovery of the Le Nain brothers — native French painters (the visit of Louis, sometimes called “le Romain,” to Italy has never been proven and has been seriously questioned) and painters of peasants — in the nineteenth century (like that of Chardin at the same time) was a determining factor in the confirmation of the existence of an autonomous national school. Since that time, the reputation of the three brothers within the context of seventeenth-century French painting has continued to rise, as was borne out by the magnificent Le Nain exhibition organized by Jacques Thuillier at the Grand Palais in 1978-1979.

We shall not discuss here the problem of separating the work of the three brothers into three groups (see the biographies of Antoine, Louis, and Mathieu Le Nain), nor shall we consider the questions surrounding the attribution of such fine works as the Boston *Christ on the Cross with the Magdalen, the Virgin, and Saint John* (see Inventory) or the *Painter's Studio* (see Inventory), in the Vassar College Museum. The six paintings in the exhibition — three interiors, three exteriors — are all scenes of daily life; the protagonists are musicians, peasants, and children of all ages. The Le Nain brothers painted mythological subjects, and they have given us some splendid religious pictures. But their world was, above all, that of everyday reality. The novelty of such subject matter in French painting could not fail to appeal to nineteenth- (and twentieth-) century audiences weary of history painting and eager for realism. An astonishing gravity marks the six works — without

doubt the most beautiful in the United States (with the exception of the *Blessing*, in the Frick Museum, Pittsburgh). The still, silent world, without movement yet filled with expectation and tinged with sadness and melancholy, is not far removed from that of Valentin, of La Tour, and, at times, of Poussin. Despite its distinctive subject matter, the world of the Le Nains has a place in seventeenth-century French painting, within which it is perfectly integrated.





Antoine Le Nain, *The Village Piper*, 21.5 × 29 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts, City Appropriation (No. 44).



Antoine Le Nain, *Three Young Musicians*, 27.5 × 34.5 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Anonymous Gift (No. 45).



Louis Le Nain, *Peasants in a Landscape*, 46.5 × 57 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection (No. 47).



Louis (?) Le Nain, *Landscape with a Chapel*, 41.5 × 55 cm. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (No. 48).



Louis Le Nain, *Peasants Before Their House*, 55 × 70.5 cm. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mildred Anna Williams Collection (No. 46).



Mathieu Le Nain, *Peasant Interior*, 55.5 × 64.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection 1952 (No. 49).



The thirteen paintings in this section of the catalogue were all executed in Paris within a period of less than twenty years, between 1636 and 1654, their authors not having made the traditional journey to Italy, until then considered indispensable. Philippe de Champaigne, the oldest painter of this group, was born in 1602; Eustache Le Sueur, the youngest, in 1616. Whether they painted scenes from the Old or New Testament or mythological and allegorical subjects, the artists shared certain characteristics, which, in our opinion, justifies their being grouped together. They used a polished finish without marked impasto, light colors juxtaposed with boldness yet with refinement (sometimes with a certain preciousness), and studied modeling — all of which favor line over brushwork, eschew motion, and accord importance to the careful ordering of the composition. The artists are related by their predilection for landscape and stark architecture, for handsome bodies and beautiful drapery; it should not be thought, however, that the work of these artists — Champaigne, La Hyre, and Le Sueur are the most important — is similar to the extent that they can be confused with one another or that the individual style of each artist did not develop independently. (Le Sueur and La Hyre died one year apart, in 1655 and 1656, respectively; Champaigne died in 1674.)

We have adopted a strictly chronological presentation in this section, which allows recognition of the fact that although there was unity of style in the twenty years during which Paris asserted itself as an original and independent center of European painting (marked by the establishment of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture), an equally important transformation was taking place. (This does not, admittedly, allow for the appreciation of the marked stylistic evolution of each of the principal artists of the movement; but

in any event, the superb portraits by Champaigne and Le Sueur and the landscapes of Champaigne — as well as the landscapes of Patel, which are close in spirit to those found in the works of La Hyre — have been incorporated into the corresponding sections of the catalogue.) In this transformation, the trembling sensuality of these artists' early works, their refined elegance and clearly decorative content are replaced by an increasing severity, an unyielding austerity, an extreme stylization — at times close to Neoclassicism, at times close to the style of Ingres. Champaigne's realism becomes verism; La Hyre's romanesque poetry is transformed into frozen allegory; and an abstract purism replaces the surface sensuality of Le Sueur's earliest canvases.

The wealth of American collections has made it possible for us to illustrate this highly original aspect of Paris painting with masterpieces whose equivalents are not always found in French museums.



Laurent de La Hyre, *Two Nymphs Bathing*, 130 × 115 cm. Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico, The Luis A. Ferré Foundation (No. 30).



Eustache Le Sueur, *Sleeping Venus*, 122 × 117 cm. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mildred Anna Williams Fund (No. 51).



Laurent de La Hyre, *Cyrus Announcing to Araspas that Panthea Has Obtained His Pardon*, 144 × 104 cm.
The Art Institute of Chicago, Major Acquisitions Centennial Fund (No. 31).



Eustache Le Sueur, *Sea Gods Paying Homage to Love*, 95 × 135 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (No. 50).



Charles Poerson, *Saint Peter Preaching in Jerusalem*, 80 × 65 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Gift of the Ahmanson Foundation (No. 83).



Philippe de Champaigne, *The Penitent Magdalen*, 115.5 × 87 cm.
Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Museum Purchase, Agnes Cullen Arnold Endowment Fund (No. 14).



Philippe de Champaigne, *Moses and the Ten Commandments*, 99 × 74.5 cm.
Milwaukee Art Museum Collection, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Myron Laskin (No. 15).



Laurent de La Hyre, *Job Restored to Prosperity*, 132 × 101 cm. The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk (No. 32).



Laurent de La Hyre, *Allegory of Music*, 94 × 136.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles B. Curtis Fund (No. 33).



Eustache Le Sueur, *The Annunciation*, 156 × 125.5 cm. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (No. 53).



Eustache Le Sueur, *Virgin and Child with Saint Joseph*, diam. 91.5 cm. The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk (No. 54).



Laurent de La Hyre, *The Kiss of Peace and Justice*, 55 × 76 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, John L. Severance Fund (No. 34).



Philippe de Champaigne, *Christ on the Cross*, 90.5 × 56 cm.
Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson Fund (No. 17).



Landscape: The Classical Tradition and the Appeal of the North

Three groups of landscapes, each with a conception distinct from the other two, are brought together in this section: landscapes by artists whose careers unfolded primarily in Rome; those by French painters familiar with Italian art; and those by artists established in Paris and more attuned to the tradition of Flemish landscape.

Claude Lorrain (see Nos. 57-64) is, of course, the most famous of the landscapists. His work, extremely well represented in the United States, will be the subject of a large retrospective exhibition in Washington, D.C., and Paris in 1982-1983 to commemorate the tricentenary of the artist's death. Famous since the seventeenth century and always more appreciated by the English than the art lovers of his own country, Claude perfected a type of idealized landscape in which the world of antiquity and the love of light, sun, and sea merge in an atmosphere of serene happiness. There have been countless admirers and followers — from Turner to Monet — of this great painter from Lorraine.

The reputation of Jacques Courtois, the “Burgognone,” a painter in another genre and somewhat neglected today (see Nos. 22, 23), who went to Italy as a very young man, was perhaps no less esteemed than that of Claude when, for two centuries, practically every seventeenth-century battle scene was attributed to him. Only recently, and largely because of the research of Edward Holt, has the work of this master come to be distinguished from that of his many imitators.

The fate of Gaspard Dughet is hardly more enviable. The brother-in-law of Nicolas Poussin, who was born and died in Rome, would have been one of the most prolific painters in the history of art were early museum and sale catalogues to be believed. Thanks to the work of Marie-Nicole Boisclair,

however (still largely unpublished), we are now in a position to better distinguish the artist's work from that of his Italian followers and to understand his considerable stylistic development. Dughet was enamored of untamed nature, which he painted from life in a manner more realistic and less laden with symbols than the grandiose and pantheistic nature of his brother-in-law (see Nos. 26-28).

Le Maire and Bourdon (and Joseph Parrocel, whose work is not, to our knowledge, in any public American collection and could not, therefore, be included in the exhibition) knew Italy well. Le Maire (see No. 43) retained the antique architecture of that country, adapting it to his own vision. Bourdon's few pure landscapes are as stylistically diverse as his other paintings; the masterpiece at Providence (No. 12), with its splendid harmonies of blue, green, and gold, exemplifies the artist's classical mode.

Paris, where the Providence landscape was probably painted, will most likely be more receptive to works displaying the Northern tradition. A great many Flemish painters lived in the French capital, many of them professional landscape painters; Fouquières and van der Meulen exemplify the work of this group. The religious paintings of Philippe de Champaigne (see No. 18), with their dense foliage and panoramic views from above, illustrate, despite the artist's classicizing temperament, the sensitivity of French landscapists to the Flemish landscape tradition. In contrast to Champaigne, Millet (also Flemish-born) devoted himself solely to landscape and adopted a classical vocabulary, dignified and learned, which assured his great success (see Nos. 71, 72). Patel's meticulous landscapes (Nos. 78, 79), on the other hand, so delicate and polished in detail, so Parisian in style and taste, seem never to have been fully appreciated, despite the praise of Mariette, who called the artist the "Claude Lorrain of France."

Whether occasional landscapists or landscapists by profession, whether favoring nature or the scenes that took place within nature, whether devoted to the depiction of battles or of architecture, the artists of Rome and Paris who practiced this genre in the seventeenth century explored all the paths that nature offered. What strikes one repeatedly is the variety of their interpretations. At times romantic, at times classical, their works already bear witness to the appeal of the genre in France, a genre that would enjoy a brilliant flowering in the eighteenth and, above all, nineteenth centuries.



Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with an Artist Drawing in the Roman Campagna*, 65.5 × 95 cm. Helen F. Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, Anonymous Gift to the Barbara B. Wescoe Fund (No. 57).



Claude Lorrain, *The Flight into Egypt*, 71 × 97.5 cm. Indianapolis Museum of Art, Clowes Fund Collection (No. 58).



Claude Lorrain, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 75.5 × 91.5 cm. Collection of the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha (No. 59).





Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Cowherd Piping*, 99 × 136 cm. Private collection, New York (No. 60).



Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with the Battle of Constantine*, 104 × 139.5 cm. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (No. 61).



Claude Lorrain, *View from Delphi with a Procession*, 101.5 × 127 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Robert A. Waller Memorial Fund (No. 62).



Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with Jacob's Journey to Canaan*, 71 × 95 cm. Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown (No. 63).



Claude Lorrain, *Apollo and the Muses on Mount Helicon*, 98 × 135 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Picture Fund (No. 64).



Gaspard Dughet, *Landscape with Goatherd and His Flock*, 67 × 120 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Mrs. Albert J. Beveidge, Restricted Gift (No. 26).



Gaspard Dughet, *Landscape with Saint Jerome in the Desert*, 122 × 179.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Seth K. Sweetser Residuary Fund (No. 27).



Gaspard Dughet, *The Cascatelle at Tivoli*, 137 × 100.5 cm.
Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico, The Luis A. Ferré Foundation (No. 28).



Jean Le Maire, *Achilles Discovered Among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, 155.5 × 128.5 cm.
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection (No. 43).



Jacques Courtois, *Battle Between Turks and Christians*, 59.5 × 72.5 cm. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mildred Anna Williams Fund (No. 22).



Jacques Courtois, *After the Battle*, 60 × 72.5 cm. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Mildred Anna Williams Fund (No. 23).



Sébastien Bourdon, *Landscape with Mill*, 86 × 107 cm. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence (No. 12).



Pierre Patel, *Landscape with the Journey to Emmaus*, 69.5 × 92.5 cm. The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk (No. 78).



Philippe de Champaigne, *Christ Healing the Deaf-Mute*, 59.5 × 74 cm. The University of Michigan Museum of Art, An Arbor (No. 18).



Pierre Patel, *Landscape with Ruins*, 59 × 85.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts, The James Philip Gray Collection (No. 79)



Jean-François Millet, *Landscape with Christ and the Woman of Canaan*, 96 × 131 cm. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (No. 71).



Jean-François Millet, *Landscape with Mercury and Battus*, 119.5 × 178 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929, The H. O. Havemeyer Collection (No. 72).



IX. Portraiture

Of all the genres practiced in the seventeenth century, portraiture remains the most neglected by art historians. In American collections there are innumerable “Mignards,” “Champaignes,” and “Lebruns” that would not have been attributed to these artists had it been possible to replace such prestigious names with those of artists famous in their own day but almost completely forgotten in ours. What is known today of Claude Lefèvre, Nocret, the Beaubruns, the Elles, and the many portraitists whose names survive only through engravings made after their painted works? What is known even of Pourbus, who painted the marvelous *Portrait of Marie de’ Medici* at Chicago?

None of the eight portraits exhibited here is the work of a professional portraitist: only Philippe de Champaigne would qualify for this title, had not his religious paintings held for him, as well as for his contemporaries, the position of greatest importance. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that the painter of Port-Royal is today more admired for his severe portraits of Jansenists, painted with the meticulous precision of a Flemish primitive, than for his large-scale biblical works. The sumptuous *Omer II Talon* (No. 16), luxuriating in reds, is testament to the artist’s genius in the genre of official portraiture.

The earliest works shown here are still within the orbit of Caravaggism: Vignon’s portrait of the print dealer François Langlois (No. 113) and the portrait by Régnier (No. 95). Vignon capped his friend with a plumed beret in the style of the Caravaggists, whereas Régnier pared down his work in order to fix attention on his model’s face (perhaps his own). Blanchard was drawn to the melancholy and arrogance of his sitter (No. 3), while Le Sueur’s portrait (No. 52, subject of a fine study by Charles Sterling, to whom we owe

the painting's attribution) appeals above all in its imposing presence and by the cleverness with which the light has been distributed on the model's face, sword, and hand, his outstretched arm appearing almost to extend out from the canvas.

Bourdon (see No. 10), in contrast to Blanchard and Le Sueur, was not an occasional portraitist. When Queen Christina invited him to Sweden, it was specifically in order that he might paint her portrait. He loved to multiply and fracture, as it were, the folds in his models' dresses, to make their hands elongated, and to endow their faces with reserved, distant, tormented expressions. The tonal range — black, gray, white, and sometimes blue — accentuates the austerity of the portraits by Bourdon, an artist still too little studied.

With Pierre Mignard, French portraiture took a new direction. Although the painter had established his reputation in Rome through a series of paintings of the Virgin and Child (the so-called Mignardes, greatly admired at the time), he did not neglect portraiture — witness, for example, the elegant canvas at Honolulu (No. 69), painted in 1647, which portrays the children of the duc de Bouillon. On his return to France, Mignard devoted a considerable amount of time to this genre, which accorded him fame equaled in degree only by the oblivion and scorn that surround his work today.

This section closes with a small picture of Flemish inspiration and outmoded in style by Saint-Igny, a *petit maître* from Rouen today all but forgotten (No. 97). In this charming procession, which is in some ways indebted to Van Dyck (who was in Paris shortly before his death in 1641), is Anne of Austria in widow's dress, to her right, her son, the young Louis XIV, and to her left, the king's brother, Monsieur, duc d'Orléans. The shadow of Louis XIII — husband of Anne of Austria and a great lover of contemporary painting, whose features are well known thanks to Vouet and Champaigne — hovers over this work, as indeed it does over all seventeenth-century French painting, elevated by him to its rightful place. Largely because of Largillierre (1656-1746) and Rigaud (1659-1743), the age of Louis XIV would witness the elaboration and flowering of official French portraiture based on a model that would be copied and imitated throughout Europe for more than a century.



Claude Vignon, *Portrait of François Langlois (The Bagpipe Player)*, 80 × 63 cm.
Wellesley College Museum, Anonymous loan (No. 113).



Nicolas Régnier, *Young Man with a Sword (Self-Portrait ?)*, 73 × 61.5 cm.
The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reichold (No. 95).



Jacques Blanchard, *Portrait of a Young Man*, 73 × 59 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of John S. Newberry in memory of his mother, Edith Stanton Newberry (No. 3).



Eustache Le Sueur, *Young Man with a Sword*, 64 × 52 cm.
Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection (No. 52).



Sébastien Bourdon, *Portrait of a Man*, 104 × 88 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Charles H. and Mary F. S. Worcester Fund Income (No. 10).





Philippe de Champaigne, *Portrait of Omer II Talon*, 225 × 161.5 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection 1952 (No. 16)



Pierre Mignard, *The Children of the Duc de Bouillon*, 89 × 119 cm. Honolulu Academy of Arts, Purchase, Robert Allerton Fund (No. 69).



Jean de Saint-Igny, *The Triumphal Procession of Anne of Austria and the Young Louis XIV*, 28.5 × 38.5 cm.
Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harding F. Bancroft (No. 97).



X. Still Life

If there has been a dearth of serious study of seventeenth-century portraiture in France, still life has, on the contrary, been the subject of much research and several abundantly illustrated books. It is interesting to note, however, that while French art lovers collect still lifes and are often interested solely in this aspect of seventeenth-century French painting, American museums, though careful to form important collections of Dutch, Flemish, and sometimes Italian still-life painting, seem to show little interest in French works of this genre. As we noted earlier, Baugin is not represented by still life in the United States, and there are few works in American collections by Linard, Moillon, or Stoskopff (or, for that matter, by Dupuis and Jean-Michel Picart). So that we could present an objective and relatively complete panorama of seventeenth-century French still life, we have had, in this section of the catalogue, greater reason to call upon the resources of private collectors than in other sections.

We begin with one of the few known Caravaggesque still lifes of the seventeenth century (No. 81), for a long while thought to be by Caravaggio himself. It is shown here for the first time with the *Fruit Vendor* (No. 80), with which it may be compared to test the hypothesis that both works were painted by the Pensionante del Saraceni, most probably a French student of the Venetian master's.

The works that follow are representative of Parisian still life; they are heavily influenced by such Northern painters as Soreau and Hulsdonck but distinguished from Flemish and Dutch canvases by a greater sobriety that verges at times on a certain awkwardness and stiffness and by an almost barren austerity. Although Louise Moillon is not the only Protestant artist in the exhibition (most still-life painters were Protestant, but then, so was

Bourdon), she is the only known gifted female French painter of her century. The Chicago still life (No. 73), painted when the artist was only twenty years old, is a perfect example of her cold, meticulous, technically faultless work. Jacques Linard endowed his canvases with a symbolic significance that enhanced their charm (see No. 56). The Alsatian Stoskopff, active in Paris for more than twenty years, who loved in his canvases to pile up glasses in heavily charged and complicated compositions, created a world that is sparkling and arresting (see No. 103). Two rarities complete this section: *Bowl of Strawberries* (No. 66), painted by a certain [Du?] Mélezet at Grenoble in 1639, and the *Carp* (No. 75), by the mysterious Nichon.

Although part of the same generation, the Flemish painter Pierre van Boucle preferred the opulent sideboards of his homeland to the austerity of Parisian still life. The velvet texture of the fruits in the Toledo canvas (No. 6) anticipates Largillierre, Desportes, and Oudry. And with Jacques-Samuel Bernard in Paris (see No. 2) and Meiffren Conte in Marseilles (see No. 21), still life became lavish and was intended to dazzle both by the sumptuousness of the objects represented and the artist's virtuosity.

Monnoyer (see No. 74), whose rich baskets of flowers were admired primarily in England, extended this tendency even further. With him, as with Blain (or Belin) de Fontenay, we reach the antithesis of the restrained and sober still lifes of the *grande génération*. Not until Chardin would the original conception be recovered, but then with a perfect equilibrium and a sense of deep repose and silence.



The Pensionante del Saraceni, *Still Life with Melons and Carafe*, 51 × 72 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Samuel H. Kress Collection 1939 (No. 81).



P. Nichon, *The Carp*, 49 × 59 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Francis Welch Fund (No. 75).



[Du?] Mélezet (?), *Bowl of Strawberries*, 34.5 × 56 cm. Mrs. Francis Storza Collection, Atlanta (No. 66).





Sébastien Stoskopff, *Still Life with Basket of Glasses*, 86.5 × 110 cm. The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena (No. 103).



Louise Moillon, *Still Life with Fruit and Asparagus*, 53.5 × 71 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Wirt D. Walker Fund (No. 73).



Jacques Linard, *The Five Senses*, 54.5 × 68 cm. Norton Simon, Malibu (No. 56).



Pierre van Boucle, *Basket of Fruit*, 51 × 62 cm. The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey (No. 6).



Jacques-Samuel Bernard, *Still Life with Violin, Ewer, and Bouquet of Flowers*, 79 × 94.5 cm. Private collection, New York (No. 2).



Meiffren Conte, *Still Life with Hercules Candlestick, Ewer, and Silver Dish*, 92 × 144.5 cm. Private collection, New York (No. 21).



Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer, *Flowers in a Basket*, 127 × 101.5 cm. The High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Gift of Mrs. Newdigate Owensby and Mr. and Mrs. Ogden Geilfuss (No. 74).



Le Brun and Mignard: The End of an Era

Between the death of Louis XIII (1643) and the accession to power of Louis XIV (1661), we lose track of many of the painters whose careers we have sketched above. After the death of Blanchard (1638) came that of Antoine Le Nain (1648), Louis Le Nain (1648), Simon Vouet (1649), François Perrier (1650), La Tour (1652), Le Sueur (1655), La Hyre (1656), and Stella (1657). Poussin, Claude, and Dughet lived on in Italy, and the survivors of the preceding generation, although they had not uttered their last words (the *Ex-Voto* by Champaigne dates from 1662), were not of sufficient stature to assume responsibility for the direction of official artistic life in France.

Two artists, however, came to the forefront: Charles Le Brun and Pierre Mignard. The younger, Charles Le Brun (1619-1690), under the patronage first of Fouquet and then of the young Louis XIV, reigned for many years over the arts in France. Not only did he undertake some of the most prestigious decorations of his time (the Galerie des Glaces, Versailles), but he left his mark on many of the most brilliant artistic creations of the period owing to his involvement in a great variety of mediums (tapestry, furniture, gold ware). Although Le Brun can be regarded as representing the early style of Louis XIV, there is no reason to perceive him as a tyrannical opponent of all original contemporary artistic endeavor.

After Colbert was replaced by Louvois, Pierre Mignard (1612-1695), younger brother of Nicolas, tried to take the place of Le Brun. He was fully successful only in 1690 and in the last five years of his life was highly productive. Like Le Brun, he looked to Italy (to Bologna) for his models, but his style was smoother, more graceful, and more saccharine — in the terms of his detractors, still numerous today — than the violent and virile art of Le Brun. Both artists, however, shared the desire to be considered mainly as

décorateurs in service to the king, painters who gave primary importance to the ornamented ceilings *à l'italienne* of the royal châteaux. They were also great draftsmen and fine portraitists. An exhibition such as this one, limited to easel painting, cannot do them justice; furthermore, the works of these artists in the United States are few in number. We have had to rest content with a canvas Le Brun painted for Fouquet (No. 41) and two paintings by Mignard, a portrait (No. 69) executed in Rome in 1647, and the celebrated *Christ and the Woman of Samaria* (No. 70). It also seemed pertinent to include in this section of the catalogue works of lesser-known artists who adapted to their own use the styles of their glorious forebears. Nicolas Colombel (see No. 20) took Poussin, Verdier (as well as Houasse), and Le Brun as models. Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne (see No. 13) imitated the canvases of his uncle Philippe, although perhaps to a lesser degree than has been claimed.

By the time Le Brun and Mignard died, France was a major European political power. Rome's artistic primacy was challenged for the first time in several centuries. Admittedly, a new generation had come to the fore, but not one of these artists — from the oldest, Charles de La Fosse (born in 1636), to the youngest, Antoine Coypel (1661), and including the Boullongnes and the Corneilles, Jouvenet (1644), and the portraitists François de Troy (1645), Largillierre (1656), and Rigaud (1659) — was as yet old enough to assert himself. Furthermore, this new generation rather than ending an era opened new vistas. It is for this reason that we have excluded from the exhibition works of the oldest of these artists, particularly since their earliest paintings have not yet been discovered and the paintings of such artists as La Fosse and Coypel are still rarities in the United States. Moreover, our exhibition *The Age of Louis XV*, held at Ottawa, Toledo, and Chicago in 1975-1976 and intended as a panorama of eighteenth-century French painting, opened with the works of La Fosse, Jouvenet, Antoine Coypel, and Louis de Boullongne.

The earliest canvases in the present exhibition are by a group of artists who drew their inspiration from the works of Caravaggio. Antiquity, the decorative schemes of the Carracci, the mature and reflective paintings of Poussin, as well as the work of Flemish and Dutch landscape and still-life painters, would all serve as models for the painters of the next generation. The time was not far off when the official portraiture perfected by Rigaud and Largillierre, the *fêtes galantes* of Watteau, and the pastorals of Boucher would serve, in their turn, as models for all of Europe.



Charles Le Brun, *Venus Clipping Cupid's Wings*, 115 × 102.5 cm. Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico, The Luis A. Ferré Foundation (No. 41).



Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne, *The Last Supper*, 110.5 × 159 cm. The Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Ralph H. Booth (No. 13).



Nicolas Colombel, *Moses Defending the Daughters of Jethro*, 121 × 172 cm.
Stanford University Museum of Art, Gift of the Committee for Art at Stanford (No. 20).



François Verdier, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, 91.5 × 148.5 cm. Mr. and Mrs. William J. Julien, Nahant, Massachusetts (No. 111).



Pierre Mignard, *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, 122 × 160 cm. North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh (No. 70).

Catalogue

- * Exhibited only in New York
- ** Exhibited only in Paris and New York
- *** Exhibited only in New York and Chicago

Note: In the Provenance section preceding each catalogue entry, a period separating the names of two owners indicates that the painting did not necessarily pass directly from one to the other; a semicolon indicates that there was no lapse in time between owners. The names of art dealers are enclosed in brackets.

Inscriptions on the paintings shown in Paris were checked for accuracy in January 1982, after the publication of the French edition of the catalogue; mistranscribed inscriptions have been corrected in the English edition.

BAUGIN Lubin

(c. 1612 Pithiviers; Paris 1663)

Several documents known today have expanded our knowledge of the life of Lubin Baugin, but to date only a few of his many works have been found (among them, four of the eleven that were commissioned for Notre-Dame. Appointed Maître Peintre in the guild of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1629 (the same year as Antoine Le Nain), Baugin probably stayed in Italy for some years from 1636 onward. If the influence of the Fontainebleau school is evident in his portrayals of the Virgin and Child (Louvre, London) and in his other great religious compositions (Aix-en-Provence, Caen, Orléans, Notre-Dame, and Saint-François-Xavier, Paris, the churches of Andrézy and Cherré), then no less crucial is the influence of works by Raphael, Barocci, Correggio, Parmigianino, and Guido Reni; Baugin's indebtedness to Reni led to his nickname Little Guido.

In recent years, there has been a great debate among art historians as to whether the four still lifes signed Baugin (two in the Louvre; Rennes; Spada Gallery, Rome) were painted by the artist of the religious paintings or are in fact by some other artist who specialized in still life. Archival documents and stylistic evidence — the boldness of tone and the preciousity of the composition — have clearly weighted the scales in favor of the first argument. Since the 1958 exhibition at Orléans and since Jacques Thuillier's article of 1963 (*L'Œil*, no. 102), a number of works (some as yet unpublished) have come to light that have not modified fundamentally the accepted image of this original and delightful painter.

1.

Virgin and Child

Panel, 33 × 24.5 cm

Signed in monogram, lower left: *L.B.* (in ligature)

Provenance: Private collection, England; Sotheby's, London, 21 July 1954, no. 99 ["Roberts"]; [David M. Koetser, New York, 1954]; Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., 1954.

Exhibitions: Portland..., 1956-1957, no. 58, pl. p. 104; New York, 1967, no. 32, ill.

Bibliography: Thuillier, 1963, p. 27, fig. 26.

The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk

On loan from the collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.

A second version of this painting is the same size but inferior in quality. A few years ago it was acquired by the Diocesan Museum, Vienna (Archbishop's Cathedral and Diocesan Mus. cat., n.d., no. 2 with pl.). Before becoming part of the Edgar Hanfstaengl collection in Munich (Helbing Gallery sale, 11 May 1909, no. 28, pl. 12, "Italian school,"



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n.d.), the painting was probably part of the collection of the grand dukes of Tuscany. When put up for sale at the Dorotheum, Vienna (29 November-2 December 1966, no. 10, pl. 2), the painting was accompanied by certificates written by Roberto Longhi and Hermann Voss, correctly attributing it to Baugin; the texts can be found in the catalogue. It is interesting to cite Longhi's text, which points out the painting's relation to the work of Beccafumi, to whom the painting had formerly been attributed; furthermore, while attributing the work to Baugin, Longhi draws attention to the artist's "intelligent reevocation of the style of Parmigianino."

These terms would be even more fitting for the graceful panel in Norfolk. The arbitrary and artificial stylization of the composition, the delicate sfumato, the subtle arabesque, and the cold harmony doubtless owe much to the example of Fontainebleau and the school of Parma, but the work can as easily take its place alongside the canvases of Le Sueur, La Hyre, or Stella, which are among the most refined creations of this engaging "school of Paris" of the first half of the seventeenth century.

BERNARD Jacques-Samuel

(1615 Paris; Paris 1687)

A student of both Simon Vouet and the miniaturist Alexandre Du Guernier, Jacques-Samuel Bernard was famous for his etchings, his miniatures, and his portraits. He was born to a Protestant family, and he married in 1645. Bernard joined the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture when it was founded in 1648, becoming professor there in 1655 before being expelled in 1681 on religious grounds. In 1685, having recanted, he was reinstated. A landscape

and a miniature with a religious subject by Bernard were exhibited at the Salon of 1673. Jacques-Samuel was the father of Samuel Bernard, one of the most illustrious financiers of his time, whose portrait (1699), in pastel, by Vivien is in the museum at Rouen.

The catalogue of Bernard's engravings after Raphael, Champaigne, and his friends Bourdon and Elle (who executed his portrait) was compiled by R. A. Weigert (1939 [I] pp. 366-370). His miniatures are numerous (in addition to those commissioned for the royal collections see, for a series of twenty-four exhibited at Évreux in 1864, R. Bordeaux, 1865, pp. 25-26, and the sale of 30 March 1981, Paris, nos. 33-55). We no longer know of any of Bernard's portraits, but we do possess some of his beautiful still lifes of flowers (Richard Green, London exh. cat., 1972, signed and dated 1660; Paris sale, Hôtel Drouot, 24 April 1964, two paintings signed and dated 1662; another reproduced by Faré, 1974, pl. p. 258, signed and dated 1663; Vase of Flowers, signed and dated 1663, Pallamar Gallery cat., Vienna, 1973). An artist of varied talents and esteemed by Mariette ([I] p. 124 [II] p. 225), Jacques-Samuel Bernard deserves better than the obsolete study by Victor de Swarte (1893) and the few pages by Faré (1974) dedicated solely to still life.

2.

Still Life with Violin, Ewer, and Bouquet of Flowers

Canvas, 79 × 94.5 cm

Signed in monogram and dated, lower left: J.S. (in ligature): Bern^d fecit/A^o: 1657.

Provenance: Comtesse de la Béraudière collection, before World War II (according to Sotheby's sale cat., 1967). [E. A. Silberman Galleries, New York, 1961-1967]; Sotheby's, London, 22 Feb. 1967, no. 42; private collection, New York.

Exhibitions: Baltimore, 1961, no. 7, ill. p. 4; New Orleans, 1962, no. 17, pl. 53; Cornell University, 1964, no. 3, coverpl.

Bibliography: Faré, 1962 (II) fig. 212; Faré, 1974, p. 256, pl. p. 259.

Private collection, New York

In the few paragraphs that Mariette devotes to Jacques-Samuel Bernard, he praises the artist's talents as a miniaturist and his abilities as a portraitist and engraver; he is silent, however, about Bernard's paintings of flowers. And yet Bernard, like many artists from the Protestant colony in Paris, must have had to devote at least some time to this genre, which was destined for the Parisian bourgeoisie, despite the disdain for still life propagated by the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, of which the artist was, nevertheless, a respected member.

What is surprising in this work is its opulence, the



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antithesis of the austerity traditional in French still life during the first half of the century: the richly decorated ewer; the beautiful Chinese fruit bowl; the violin, the bouquet of roses, irises, and lilies; the half-peeled lemon; the bunch of grapes skillfully arranged on a table covered with an Oriental rug. The lavishness of the work, its deliberately decorative aspect, and its careful execution are indications of the artist's familiarity with Dutch precedents (e.g., Jan Davidsz de Heem), while a good number of specialists in this genre turned all the more willingly to Flemish examples because they themselves were Flemish (van Boucle, Boel, Nicasius, among others). In the panorama of French seventeenth-century still lifes, Bernard's painting offers an interesting divergence.

BLANCHARD Jacques

(1600 Paris; Paris 1638)

A student of Nicholas Bollery's in Paris, Blanchard completed his training in Lyons (1620-1623) with Horace Le Blanc before going on to Rome (1624-1626), Venice (1626-1628), where he admired works by both Feti and Liss (whose painting *Lute Player* he owned), and Turin. His earliest known work, *Virgin and Child Giving the Keys to Saint Peter* (1628, Albi Cathedral), already reveals the basic characteristics of his style: the fine profile of the Virgin with her tiny chignon, her head inclined slightly toward the viewer; the friezelike Venetian-style composition accentuated by diagonal lighting; the warm, soft tones. Blanchard often returned to this formula for his mythological and allegorical compositions (many depicting *Charity*) and particularly for his paintings of the Holy Family, a theme of which he never tired. These works show not only a familiarity with Venetian art — early in his career he was nicknamed the French Titian — but also the influence of the school of Fontainebleau. However, the originality of this artist (who died at

the age of thirty-eight) lies above all, in his robust sensuality. Even more than Vouet, Blanchard went beyond the cerebral elegance of Primaticcio's world, animating his own women with an earthy voluptuousness more akin to the women of Rubens or Jordaens. Charles Sterling's important article on Blanchard (1961) should be supplemented by the author's (1975), in which new paintings are published, and by Jacques Thuillier's (1978), in which new archival documents are brought to light.

3.

Portrait of a Young Man

Canvas, 73 × 59 cm

Inscribed, upper-left corner: *An. 1631* and *AE 27* (the latter inscription now barely visible)

Provenance: [Colin Agnew, London]. John S. Newberry, before 1937; The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1959.

Exhibitions: Detroit, 1937, no. 30; New York, 1939, no. 13; Detroit, 1941, no. 2; New York, 1946, no. 2 (illustration confused with a portrait by Le Sueur); Detroit, 1949, no. 1; Pittsburgh, 1951, no. 50, ill.; Detroit, 1964-1965, p. 14; Detroit, 1965 (1) p. 91; Jacksonville-St. Petersburg, 1969-1970, no. 12.

Bibliography: Valentiner, 1937, pp. 100-102, ill. p. 100; Payne, 1959-1960, pp. 84-85, ill.; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (suppl.) Feb. 1961, p. 26, fig. 90; Sterling, 1961, p. 88, no. 31, fig. 31, pl. p. 77; Sterling, 1965, p. 181, n. 2; Mus. cat., 1967, p. 15; Rosenberg, 1975, p. 222, no. 31.

The Detroit Institute of Arts

Gift of John S. Newberry in memory of his mother, Edith Stanton Newberry

A small replica of this portrait, previously attributed to Du Jardin, was put up for sale in Vienna in 1973 (Dorotheum, 601, 18 September 1973, no. 9, pl. X). Although the inscription at the top left-hand corner of the Detroit *Portrait* establishes the date of the painting as 1631 and the age of the model as twenty-seven years (?), there is nothing to indicate the identity of the sitter; in all probability, he is one of the painter's friends. Although it is not signed, the portrait is, of those credited to Blanchard, the most convincing in its attribution. It bears a certain resemblance to Blanchard's *Self-Portrait*, a work known to us through an engraving (Sterling, 1961, no. 43, ill.). The portrait's style, which combines dignity with subtly nuanced delicacy, places it alongside Blanchard's mythological and religious works. That the artist did in fact paint portraits is confirmed by several historical sources, including Félibien and Perrault. In 1629, before leaving Lyons for Paris, Blanchard and his master and friend Horace Le Blanc painted portraits of each other that they then exchanged.



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Blanchard is by no means the only artist of his generation who practiced portrait painting. The present exhibition includes a portrait by Le Sueur (No. 52), who, like Blanchard, did not disdain portraiture — nor did such painters as Vouet, Bourdon, and Champaigne or the draftsmen Mellan and Nanteuil, who specialized in this genre. But Blanchard's originality lies in his powers of observation; the young man's stern, handsome face, his sensuous mouth, and arrogant yet pensive expression lend a feeling of detachment and distinction reminiscent of Titian or Van Dyck.

4.

Angelica and Medoro

Canvas, 121.5 × 176 cm

Provenance: Sculptor Edme Bouchardon collection, Paris sale, Nov. 1762, no. 13: "Angelica and Medoro painted by Blanchard, 5 *pieds* wide by 3½ *pieds* high" (113.5 × 162 cm) (?). Verrier collection, Paris sale, 14 Nov. (postponed to 18 Nov.) 1776, no. 58 ("Laurent de La Hyre"): "A painting depicting Angelica and Medoro at the foot of a tree on which they engrave their names. The background is a landscape. Width 5 *pieds* 6 *pouces*; Height 4 *pieds* 4 *pouces* Canvas" (140 × 179 cm) (?). Poullain collection, Paris sale, 15 Mar. 1780, no. 105: "Angelica and Medoro engraving their names in an oak tree at the foot of which they sit (39 *pouces* by 62)" (105.5 × 168 cm, bought for 700 livres by "comte d'Orsé [sic]") (?); comte d'Orsay collection, Paris sale, 14 Apr. 1790, no. 2: "Angelica and Medoro, life-size figures, in a landscape; the figure of the woman is seen from the back, seated at the foot of a tree on which she writes; the subject is known from the engraving Voyés made of it. The work went through the cabinet of M. Poullain. Canvas. 5½ *pieds* × 3 *pieds* 4



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pouces" (108 × 179 cm) (?). T. J. Blakeslee sale, American Art Galleries, New York, 7 Apr. 1904, no. 71; George A. Hearn collection, New York; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1906.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1937, no. 62; New York, 1946, no. 1, ill.; Washington-Toledo-New York, 1960-1961 (supp.) no. 170 (exhibited New York only); New York, *Nudes and Landscapes*, 1973 (no cat.).

Bibliography: Demonts, 1925 (II) p. 166, n. 3, pl. between pp. 164 and 165; Dimier, 1926 (I) p. 39, pl. XXVIII; Weisbach, 1932, pp. 58, 360, n. 17, pl. 6; Sterling, 1937, pl. 45; Valentiner, 1937, p. 101; Waterhouse in London (exh. cat.) 1938, under no. 325; Blunt, 1953, 1957 ed., p. 147 (1973 ed., p. 247); Mus. cat. (Sterling) 1955, pp. 63-65; Pigler, 1956 (II) p. 445; Sterling, 1961, p. 89, no. 35, fig. 35; Thomas, 1961, p. 227, ill. p. 225; Châtelet and Thuillier, 1963, p. 206, colorpl. p. 204; Janneau, 1965, pp. 54, 400, n. 363; Lee, 1977, pp. 47-48, 104, n. 100, colorpl. opp. p. 47, cover ill. (detail); Mus. cat. (Baetjer) 1980 (I) p. 12 (III) ill. p. 485; Hibbard, 1980, p. 310, fig. 555 (color).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Gift of George A. Hearn

The subject of this painting was correctly identified by Louis Demonts in 1925. It is not a Venus and Adonis, as was believed when the work first entered the Metropolitan Museum (Mus. cat., 1922, p. 19); rather, it depicts an episode from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (XIX: 36) in which the two lovers Angelica and Medoro carve their names in the bark of a tree. It was with this title, moreover, that the painting changed hands in Paris on four separate occasions at the end of the eighteenth century. In the second sale, the Verrier sale of 1776, the work was attributed to La Hyre, as were many works by Blanchard in the eighteenth century. We are, however, certain that the composition is by Blanchard because Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780) sketched it in the margin of his sale catalogue (E. Dacier, 1953, ill. p. 314). At about the same time the work was twice engraved, first by Voiez the Elder in 1771 and then by Le Grand in 1781 (Sjöberg, 1974, p. 642, no. 356). It is one of these engravings that Charles Blanc used in 1865 to illustrate his biography of Blanchard.

The provenance of the New York painting is less certain than might at first appear. There was a good copy in the collection of the earl of Mount Edgcumbe, as E. Waterhouse revealed in 1938 (London exh. cat., 1938, no. 325, 113 × 160 cm, and Illustrated Souvenir sold at Christie's, 27 June 1958, no. 51, pl. p. 79). It might well have been the English version rather than the one in New York that was engraved and put up for sale in the eighteenth century (particularly since given painting dimensions varied considerably from one sale to another).

The date of the New York canvas also remains open to question. We would tend to date it toward 1634-1635, after the completion of the decorations for the Hôtel Bullion and slightly before the Nancy Museum Bacchanal of 1636. Finally, along with Charles Sterling and Rensselaer W. Lee, we would stress the dual stylistic origins of the work: Fontainebleau and Venice, Veronese and Titian, if one attributes the *Concert champêtre* (Louvre) to the latter. Blanchard, in painting the recumbent, naked body of Angelica created a picture of provocative sensuality. But beyond this, he recreated the very atmosphere of Ariosto's epic poem: the mutual absorption of two young lovers, their brief pastoral idyll placed outside the limitations of time, their moment of perfect happiness.

5.

Allegory of Charity

Canvas, 108 × 138.5 cm

Provenance: Prince de Carignan collection, sold Prestage, London, 26 Feb. 1765, no. 40: "Charity and Her Children... 3 ft 5 in × 4 ft 3 in." (?). Fifth duke of Richmond collection, Goodwood House (Sussex), no later than 1822; remained in collection of dukes of Richmond and Gordon until 1974; Sotheby's, London, 27 Mar. 1974, no. 61, ill.; [Newhouse, New York]; The Toledo Museum of Art, 1975.

Exhibitions: London, 1938, no. 324 ("La Hyre"); Montreal-Quebec-Ottawa-Toronto, 1961-1962, no. 30, ill. ("La Hyre").

Bibliography: Jacques, 1822, p. 38 ("La Hyre"); Mason, 1839, p. 21 ("La Hyre"); Mar. 1877, no. 223; Blunt (1st ed., 1953) 1957 ed., p. 147, pl. 112 B (1973 ed., p. 247, fig. 204); Sterling, 1961, pp. 93-94, no. 58, fig. 58, p. 113, colorpl. 112; Weigert, 1961, p. 413, under no. 63; Châtelet and Thuillier, 1963, p. 206, colorpl. p. 205; Rosenberg, 1975, p. 223, no. 58; Mus. cat., 1976, p. 23, pl. 182; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Mar. 1976, p. 41, fig. 157; Thuillier, 1978, p. 87, nn. 1, 2; Thuillier and Mignot, 1978, p. 47.

The Toledo Museum of Art
Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey



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The theme of Charity was one that Blanchard found particularly compelling; he treated it at least six times (Hermitage; Courtauld Institute [fragment]; formerly Bob Jones University, cat., 1968, p. 38; Sterling, 1961, no. 59 [location unknown]; and, above all, Louvre, of which there are several versions, among them, private collection, New York, New York exh. cat., 1967, no. 23, ill.). The Toledo painting (copy [?]) sold at Christie's, 14 March 1930, no. 132, subsequently sold at Sotheby's, 16 December 1981, no. 34, formerly Basté de Saint-Pallaye collection, Paris, 106.7 × 134.6 cm) was in England from 1822, indeed, even from as early as 1765, if one is to believe David Carritt (Toledo Mus. cat., 1976). The engraving in the Louvre by Antoine Carrier (1611-1694; Weigert, 1961) was reproduced by Olivier Merson (1900, p. 21, fig. 5). The engraving appears in the background of a painting by the Flemish painter E. van Tilborch (?) in the Glasgow University Museum representing an interior scene (Rosenberg, 1975, fig. 142).

It is difficult to ascribe exact dates to Blanchard's works, particularly since the Parisian career of the artist extended over little more than eight years. We do know, however, that the engraving after the painting on the same subject in the Courtauld Institute bears the date 1637, which led Charles Sterling to adopt the same date for the Toledo canvas.

We do not really know why Blanchard repeated the allegorical scene of Charity with such persistence. Should one interpret these scenes, as does Sterling, as religious paintings that allude to the activities of Saint Vincent de Paul and the Sisters of Charity? Or would it not be more appropriate to view them as a pretext for Blanchard to display his talent for depicting placid, full-figured, dark-haired women on whom he bestows as much tenderness as sensuality?

Whatever the case may be, the *Allegory of Charity* provides a fine example of the artist's talent. The mother and her three children stand out boldly from a sweep of crimson curtain against the background of a triumphal arch and a bas-relief depicting Roman warriors. The relief, built in a ruined wall,

is surmounted by the pedestal of a column. The pearly bodies of the four figures, painted in gradations of velvet hues, bathe in the warm light of a setting sun. The elegant, supple rhythm of the composition contrasts with the classical scene in which the artist has placed his models. It is this type of painting that explains Blanchard's rapid success in Paris; he was an artist about whom contemporaries said, "Love was his only true passion."

BOUCLE Pierre van born Pieter van Boeckel

(c. 1600 Antwerp?; Paris 1673)

A pupil of Snyders, van Boucle was in Paris from 1629, perhaps even from 1623. We know that he was associated with Baugin, Picart, Moillon, Linard, his compatriots Fouquières, Philippe Vleughbels, Nicasius, and Kalf during the latter's stay in France.

Van Boucle was renowned as one of the most active and prolific Flemish still-life painters in Paris, and if he died in reduced circumstances at the Hôtel Dieu, it was due neither to lack of recognition nor lack of work (for he received royal commissions) but rather to his life of debauchery, to which both Félibien and Florent Le Comte refer. It was not until the paintings initialed P. V. B. were associated with the name Pierre van Boucle (Foucart, 1975) that the artist, who had been all but forgotten, was once again given recognition and his artistic personality (more complex than one might have thought) reevaluated.

Van Boucle, a specialist in still-life paintings of flowers, vegetables, fruits, fowl, fish, and meats, often animated his compositions with dogs and cats, much as his master, Snyders, had done. His richly realistic works, executed with sure brushstrokes in thick layers of paint, exemplify the little-studied interpenetration of the Flemish school with the French, so crucial during the seventeenth century.

6.

Basket of Fruit

Canvas, 51 × 62 cm

Signed in monogram and dated, lower right: P.V.B. fecit. 1649.

Provenance: Possibly in a sale at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, before 1959; private collection, Paris; [J. Aubry, Paris, 1959]; [Heim, Paris, 1960]; The Toledo Museum of Art, 1961.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1960, no. 510.

Bibliography: *The Art Quarterly*, Winter 1962, p. 399, ill.; Faré, 1962 (II) fig. 88; Faré, 1974, pl. p. 98; Foucart, 1975, pp. 238, 248,



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251-252, no. 39, and p. 255; Mus. cat., 1976, p. 28, pl. 185; Foucart in *Le Siècle de Rubens* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1977-1978, p. 45.

The Toledo Museum of Art
Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey

Although we know from documentary evidence that shortly after his arrival in Paris van Boucle devoted himself to still life, we know of no painting that dates from before 1648. This indicates the importance of the Toledo canvas, which is dated one year later than the painting in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva. The work is among the most characteristically French of van Boucle's œuvre. The composition does not have the lavish excesses of so many of the artist's works: admittedly, the paint has been thickly applied, but the velvet quality of the apples, pears, peaches, and grapes and the wide range of nuanced colors show a knowledge of other contemporary French still lifes, particularly the works of Linard.

It would appear that with this *Basket of Fruit*, which foreshadows Largillier's early still lifes, van Boucle wanted to prove that he was a match for his Parisian rivals. More realistic than poetic, he nevertheless did not renounce his predilection for a firm plasticity of form or for contours illuminated by a simple, clear-cut light, a predilection that can be traced to his Flemish heritage.

BOURDON Sébastien

(1616 Montpellier; Paris 1671)

Bourdon was born in Montpellier to a Protestant family and from an early age led a peripatetic and adventurous life, traveling throughout France while he received his formative training in painting. In Rome at the age of eighteen, he soon gained a reputation both for his skillful pastiches and his bambocciate, painted in the steel grays and vibrant blues in which he delighted throughout his career.

Denounced by the Inquisition as a heretic, Bourdon fled Rome for France, stopping briefly at Venice. On his return to Paris, he lost no time in establishing himself. He continued to paint his bambocciate, which show the influence of Northern genre painting and religious works and are supple in composition and washed in a fine mist of light. Bourdon's style altered somewhat following Poussin's stay in Paris (1640-1642); he turned toward a more geometric composition with sharp, clearly defined planes, and he began to use brighter, more vibrant colors. One of the twelve founding members of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (1648), Bourdon went in 1652 to Sweden at the invitation of Queen Christina; on his return to Paris in 1654, he was named rector of the Académie. On the death of Le Sueur, Bourdon received from the Church of Saint-Gervais the commission for a large tapestry cartoon. The last few years of his creative life were dedicated to decorating the Hôtel de Bretonvilliers (now destroyed) and to painting landscapes and religious scenes.

Bourdon, despite the fact that he was a versatile and prolific artist whose mode of expression took many forms, including engraving and drawing, and whose style continued to evolve throughout his career, has never been accorded proper recognition. Fowle's research (1970) remains largely unpublished, as does my own with Jacques Thuillier from before 1971, undertaken within the context of an exhibition conceived as a commemoration of the tricentenary of the artist's death.

7.

The Encampment

Canvas, diam. 56 cm

Provenance: Prince de Conti collection, second Conti sale, Paris, 15 Mar. 1779, no. 52: "A small circular painting in the style of Jean Miel. It depicts several figures playing under a tent at the entrance of a cabaret; close by, a man dismounts and fixes his shoe. Diameter 12 *pouces* [sic]. Canvas."; Paris sale [Verrier Le Rouge ?] [by Lebrun], 12 Mar. 1782, no. 112: "Bohemians: on the left... one sees two men playing dice; a nude man standing nearby looks on. In the foreground, a man lies on the ground, and farther back a man adjusts his shoe while holding his horse by the reins. In the background, one sees six more figures, a range of mountains, and other staffage. The circular-shaped work is silvery and painted in Bourdon's beautiful style. Diameter 21 *pouces*. Canvas." A. Barclay collection, Compton Manor, England (according to a photograph classified under the name of Dujardin, Courtauld Institute, London). Duc de Trévise collection; [Julius Weitzner, New York]; Allen Memorial Art Museum, 1957.

Bibliography: *The Art Quarterly*, 1957, p. 205, pl. p. 211; Rosenberg, 1964, p. 299, n. 15; Mus. cat., 1967, pp. 21-22, fig. 72; Stechow, 1976, p. 115, fig. 8.

Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College
Gift of John J. Burling in memory of Marguerite Bensinger Burling



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There can be no doubt that this work is the one referred to in the Conti sale of 1779. Not only was it carefully described in the catalogue of this illustrious collection, but it was meticulously drawn by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin (1724-1780) in the margin of his copy of the catalogue (Dacier, 1919 [X] facsimile p. 20, p. 67). Admittedly, the author of the catalogue entry gives the size of the picture as twelve inches in diameter, but this "misprint" was corrected by the expert Lebrun in the Verrier Le Rouge sale catalogue of 1782. At the first sale, the painting was bought for 144 livres by "Dulac" and at the second for 110 livres by "Dufour." The Conti sale catalogue is interesting for another reason: the author relates the painting to "the style of Jean Miel." Above the name of the Northern painter, Saint-Aubin, in his fine, idiosyncratic hand, writes "perfectionné," thus indicating his preference for the French painter. The comparison with Miel is easily understood: not only was the Courtauld Institute photograph of the painting classified under the name Dujardin (an attribution the work held while still in the Barclay collection), but in 1964 we ourselves were reluctant to attribute the work to Bourdon, so evident was the influence of van Laer's *bambocciate*. Nevertheless, there are many details entirely characteristic of Bourdon: the bare tree with twisted trunk; the architecture; the rocks with their very particular forms. Admittedly, certain motifs, such as the urinating horse, are borrowed directly from van Laer, whose engraving of this subject is well known. But it is the skillful interlocking of the planes, cleverly playing on the diagonals, and above all the range of colors, with harmonies of steel grays and pale blues, that are characteristics exclusive to Bourdon.

Everything leads us to believe that the canvas was painted in Rome between 1634 and 1637, during the time Bourdon specifically wished to exercise his virtuosity and display his ability to imitate the most talented and celebrated artists of the day.



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8.

The Departure of Jacob

Canvas, 49 × 67 cm

Provenance: Sale of painter Louis-Michel Vanloo (1707-1771), Paris, 24 Dec. 1772, no. 50: "The Departure of Jacob. This painting, treated with *Vaghesse* and painted in the most agreeable silvery tones, is a composition with fifteen people. It is extremely interesting owing to the variety of objects and poses depicted. On the right... one sees a beautiful group of women and children; in the foreground two men, half-naked and quite excellently drawn, are binding their packages of goods; one also sees a number of various animals. 2 *pieds* × 18 *pouces*"; probably Vassal de Saint-Hubert sale, Paris, 17 Jan. 1774, no. 69: "Another capital work by Bourdon, wherein the color is silvery and beautiful, representing Jacob's departure painted on a canvas 18 *pouces* × 23 *pouces*"; abbé de Gévigney sale, Paris, 1 Dec. 1779, no. 481: "Jacob's departure with his family, his servants, and his herds. This painting, admirable for its beautiful composition and its harmonious and silvery colors, comes from M. Michel Van Loo's cabinet (18 *pouces* × 14 *pouces* [sic])." Collection of collector Jacques Joseph de Boussairolles (1741-1814), Montpellier, Baron d'Empire in 1811, Président de la Cour des Aides et Finances de Montpellier; acquired by Boussairolles in 1809 for 300 francs in a public sale, Paris, through the intermediary Fontanel (archival documents kindly communicated by M. de Colbert); Colbert collection, his descent, in Montpellier until 1979; [Colnaghi, 1979]; Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1980.

Exhibitions: London, Colnaghi, 1979, no. 23, ill. ("Laban Searching the Belongings of Jacob").

Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

Gift of The Armand Hammer Foundation and the Occidental Petroleum Company

The original provenance of this painting, acquired in 1980 by the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, has only recently been verified. In the eighteenth century it was part of several great collections, including that of the painter Louis-Michel

Vanloo. Gabriel de Saint-Aubin's sketch of the work in the margin of his copy of the sale catalogue (Dacier, 1911, facsimile p. 31), although summary, is quite recognizable. Bought by "Folio" for 1,500 livres, the painting was sold to "Joly" two years later in the Vassal de Saint-Hubert sale for 1,400 livres, and for 1,450 livres to "Dulac" in the Gévigney sale of 1779. In 1809 it became part of the Boussairolles collection at Montpellier, to which Bourdon's great *Anthony and Cleopatra* (?), recently acquired by the Louvre, also belonged (Paris exh. cat., 1980-1981, no. 33, colorpl.). It is interesting to note that Charles Ponsonailhe, whose monograph on Bourdon (Montpellier, 1883) was the most thorough written in the nineteenth century, ignores the Boussairolles collection, in all probability because it was closed to him, and he catalogues neither the Louvre painting nor the work at Houston.

Can we accept unreservedly the title the *Departure of Jacob*, attributed to the painting by sale catalogues in the eighteenth century? And if so, to which of the many departures of the Hebrew patriarch does the work refer? Is it not more likely, as Jennifer Montagu has suggested (to the author, in writing), that the work, which depicts a scene with vague biblical references, showing camels and palm trees, was called the *Departure of Jacob* to accentuate its features as a history painting? In the spirit of the young Bourdon, the two interpretations are not entirely contradictory, and it is quite possible that he in fact wanted to paint a kind of historical *bambocciate* that would at once demonstrate his abilities and keep his customers satisfied.

The *Departure of Jacob* should be dated slightly after the date of Bourdon's return from Italy, between 1637 and 1640. Following his sojourns in Rome and Venice, Bourdon retained a marked preference for rhythmically balanced compositions and for models — robust, muscular young men, and women breast-feeding their children — chosen from the lower classes. In the Houston canvas, however, in the motif of the dog and that of the horse with copper cauldron attached to its flank (a motif typical in the painter's œuvre), one can already sense a certain reserve. The refinement in the use of color and a certain playful elegance also point to the mature Bourdon.

9.

Landscape with Ford

Canvas, 51 × 62 cm

Provenance: [Galerie Fleurville, Paris]; private collection, Paris, c. 1955-1960; [Schaeffer Galleries, New York]; Smith College Museum of Art, 1961.



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Exhibitions: Rome, 1956-1957, no. 23; Jerusalem, 1965, no. 16, ill.

Bibliography: *The Art Quarterly*, no. 1, 1961, p. 96; *Smith College Museum of Art Bulletin*, 1961, no. 41, pl. 17, p. 28; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1962, p. 31, fig. 119; Rosenberg, 1964, p. 299, no. 15; Fowle, 1970 (I) pp. 87-89, fig. 33 (II) no. 5; Salerno, 1976 (II) pl. p. 477.

Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton
Purchased Eleanor Lamont Cunningham (32) Fund

The painting has been mistakenly called *Laban's Departure for the Desert* or *Jacob's Departure*. Even more than for the Houston painting (No. 8), it was tempting to give this canvas a biblical title, since there is a vertical engraving by Bourdon called the *Return of Jacob* (Weigert, 1951, p. 67, no. 1) that inverts, with little modification, the motif of the heavily laden horse led by Jacob. However, the small retinue that accompanies "Jacob" and the absence of the traditional camels lead us to reject this title and to consider the Smith College canvas simply as a pastoral scene embellished with an imposing architectural background rather than as a history painting.

In the catalogue of the 1956-1957 exhibition, Charles Sterling dates the work to before 1640, a date we consider convincing and one that can be confirmed by a detail. In the above-mentioned engraving, which we believe was published upon Bourdon's return to Paris, one can see on the left, *à contrejour*, a woman mounted on a camel and breast-feeding a child. This same group of figures, also painted *à contrejour*, occupies the center of the Houston canvas, indicating a date shortly before that of the Northampton canvas. If the vast, cloudy skies, the trees with long silver trunks, and the bare hills in the background are typical of Bourdon, the overall composition is derived from Castiglione's (1609-1665) early Roman works. We can today better understand how the influence of Castiglione was exerted on Bourdon following the discovery of the *Landscape with Flock of Sheep and Shepherds*, signed and dated January 1633 — that is, a year

after Castiglione's arrival in Rome (Princeton exh. cat., 1980, no. 12, ill.; Brigstock, 1980, p. 292, figs. 1, 293). This influence was such that Bourdon's art occasionally developed into pastiche, as can be seen in, for example, the *Sacrifice of Jacob* in the Mahon collection, London.

10.

Portrait of a Man

Canvas, 104 × 88 cm

Provenance: Private collection, England (?); private collection, Sweden, after 1932 (?); [Heim, London]; The Art Institute of Chicago, 1975.

Exhibitions: Chicago, 1978, no. 4, colorpl. II.

Bibliography: *The Art Institute of Chicago Annual Report*, 1975-1976, pp. 7, 33, pl. p. 5; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Mar. 1977, p. 49, no. 194, ill.; Vasseur, 1977, pp. 3-5, ill. p. 2 and cover (detail); *Bazille* (exh. cat.) Chicago, 1978, p. 12, pl. p. 12; Mus. cat. (*100 Masterpieces*) 1978, p. 62, colorpl. 24.

The Art Institute of Chicago
Charles H. and Mary F. S. Worcester Fund Income

Bourdon was an eclectic artist. He was above all a history painter, but from time to time he also painted landscapes (see No. 12) and genre scenes (see No. 7). He made many large decorations that are no longer extant, and he was also an outstanding portraitist. He had particular occasion to exercise his talent in portraiture during his stays in Sweden, 1652-1653, and in Montpellier, 1657-1658. The Chicago painting is an excellent example of Bourdon's ability in this genre; it is certainly comparable to his portraits of men, in Sweden (*Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1923, pp. 303-309), and above all to the portrait in Prague (unpublished).

The painting poses two problems. First, whom does the painting represent? Before it was acquired by the Art Institute, the sitter was thought to be the baron de Vauvert (1612-1663), Bourdon's close friend and a Protestant. Pierre d'Authéville, seigneur de Montferrier, baron de Vauvert, commissioned Bourdon, during his stay in Montpellier, to paint "seven or eight large paintings treating the subject of the deeds of Moses" (Guillet de Saint-Georges, *Mémoires inédits*, 1854 ed. [I] p. 93; Ponsonailhe, 1883, p. 169). There is no reason to contest this hypothesis. Indeed, if it is correct it resolves the second problem — namely, that of the date of the work. There is nothing to indicate that it was not in fact painted in Montpellier about 1657. In any case, the model's features, his eyes, his dark hair, and his olive complexion make one think of a gentleman from the south. There is a defined simplicity in the composition, with its three patches



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of white (two sleeves and collar), and a certain dignity in the slender nervous hand standing out against the gray black suit. In its distinguished elegance and dreamy, melancholic quality, the Chicago painting can be seen as a French response to the formula for the painting of gentlemen perfected by Van Dyck between 1620 and 1640, one that was frequently imitated throughout Europe.

11.

The Finding of Moses

Canvas, 119.5 × 173 cm

Provenance: Gottesman (1959, pp. 292-293) cites this painting as having come from the Robit collection, Paris, then the Bryan collection, London (coll. cat., 1801-1802, p. 9, no. 44), and having been exhibited in 1802-1803 at the Edward Savage Columbian Gallery, New York (exh. cat., no. 4). In these references, however, he had probably confused the Robit painting with the *Finding of Moses* from the George Hibbert collection, sold Christie's, London, 22 Dec. 1927, no. 12 (former collection of Sir Richard Waldie Griffith: "The Finding of Moses. 58½ in. by 71 in. From the collection of Mr. Hibbert"). In any case, the Hibbert work (now Milton Gendel collection, England), of the same width but considerably taller than the Washington canvas, is, judging by the photograph, of inferior quality. Arthur L. Nicholson collection, Llandaff House, Weybridge (Surrey) (and Highcliffe, Crosby?), Great Britain, 1937; [Paul Drey, New York]; Samuel H. Kress, 1948; National Gallery of Art, 1961.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1937, no. 65; Liège, 1939, no. 24, pl. p. 124; Rochester, *A Group of Old Master Paintings*, 1948 (no cat.).

Bibliography: Only a few of the many general catalogues and guides published by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., are



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cited: Mus. cat., Kress coll. (Suida-Shapley) 1956, p. 40; Cooke, 1959, p. 22, colorpl. p. 23; Gottesman, 1959, pp. 292-293, ill., and p. 305; Rosenberg, 1964, p. 299, n. 15; Thuillier and Châtelet, 1964, p. 76, colorpl. p. 78; Fowle, 1970 (I) pp. 92-97, fig. 36 (II) no. 5; Rosenberg and Thuillier, 1970, p. 31, n. 12; Bjurström, 1976, no. 173; Eisler, 1977, pp. 289-290, fig. 257.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Samuel H. Kress Collection 1961

The Kress collection catalogue by Colin Eisler (1977) mentions an early copy of the Washington painting in the collection of Judy Gendel, Rome (today, the Milton Gendel collection, England), which was probably the same canvas as that in the Hibbert collection, London, in 1829. In Stockholm (Bjurström, 1976), furthermore, there is a drawing with analogies to the Washington canvas, notably the group comprised of the pharaoh's daughter and her retinue. It is, however, possible that the drawing was a preparatory work for the painting of the same subject treated on a much larger scale (9 *pieds 6 pouces* × 10½ *pieds*) that was sold at the abbé de Gévinney sale of 1 December 1779 (no. 479; location unknown).

There can be no doubt that the Washington canvas is among Bourdon's greatest paintings. The harmony of clear, vibrant colors, the expansive, sunlit landscape, the quality of the light, and the fresh morning air make this canvas the masterpiece of Bourdon's classical mode. With its strict disposition of planes, the rhythmic composition is structured with the rigor of a Cubist painting, although its severity is broken by the gracious gestures of the followers who present the infant Moses to the pharaoh's daughter.

The work owes a great deal to the two paintings by Poussin of the same subject in the Louvre, particularly the one from the Le Nôtre collection painted in 1638 rather than that of 1647 painted for Pointel. It is probable that about 1655 Bourdon was competing — with the present canvas — with Poussin. Competing with him without, however, imitating him. Characteristic of Bourdon are the pleasing expressions of the followers, the subtle arabesque formed by

the twelve protagonists — an elegant frieze standing out from a firmly structured scenery, with its astonishing blocks of stone at left — and the way their gazes lead us to the radiant face of the infant Moses. There is, beyond this, a natural elegance in Bourdon's canvas that heralds an entirely new dimension in French painting, one that would come to fruition in the eighteenth century.

Finally, it is notable that in his lecture on light at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture on 9 February 1669, Bourdon exhorted young artists "to think like" Poussin. He hoped that in imitation of Poussin they "would keep the light of a rising sun for subjects open to the same joy that is inspired by the sun's arrival, such as the subject of the finding of Moses" (Jouin, 1883, p. 129). Bourdon himself has shown the way.

12.*

Landscape with Mill

Canvas, 86 × 107 cm

Provenance: Kean Brown Osborn (1853). F. Smith Bucknole (1935). Sir George Leon. Mrs. Warwick Bryant collection, Windlesham Moor; Bryant sale, Christie's, London, 23 June 1950, no. 71 (acquired by "Kauffman" for 483 guineas [the sale catalogue names the first two owners of the work]); acquired [from Grete Ring, London] by the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1951.

Exhibitions: Amsterdam, 1951, no. 8; Cambridge, 1955, no. 20; Montreal-Quebec-Ottawa-Toronto, 1961-1962, no. 8, ill. (exhibited Montreal and Quebec only); New York, Wildenstein, 1967, no. 71, ill.; New York, Wildenstein, 1978, no. 8, fig. 10.

Bibliography: *The Art Quarterly*, Spring 1952, pp. 81-85, pl. p. 84; [Helen Comstock], *The Connoisseur*, Sept. 1952, pp. 76-77; Schwarz, 1952, unpaginated, fig. 1; Dorival, 1953, pp. 50, 49, fig. 5 (as private collection, London); *Vie des Arts*, Autumn 1961, p. 33 ill.; Rosenberg, 1964, p. 299, n. 15; Thuillier and Châtelet, 1964, pp. 55-56, colorpl. p. 56; Salerno, 1976 (II) pl. p. 476; *Bazille* (exh. cat.) Chicago, 1978, pl. p. 13.

Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence

Toward the end of his life, Bourdon, like Poussin, devoted an increasingly large part of his time to landscape painting. The Providence canvas was probably painted after his stay in Sweden (1652-1653) and his sojourn at Montpellier (1657-1658). There are two other Bourdon landscapes in the United States, one at Pittsburgh, probably only a fragment (see Inventory), and the *Landscape with Figures*, in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. R. Kirk Askew, Jr. (Wildenstein exh. cat., New York, 1968-1969, no. 1, fig. 48).

In the *Landscape with Mill*, only a rider clad in yellow who



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has dismounted to quench his thirst animates the landscape. The composition, with its firmly layered planes, centers around a watermill. In the clearings at either side of the mill are a dilapidated cottage at the right and a church with Italian architectural elements at the left. Bourdon has played on the opposition between the green masses of the trees and land and the strident blues of the sky and river. Moreover, in this rigorously classical composition, Bourdon gives the impression of a landscape painted from life. It is in this mixture of the heroic and the real, the classical and the natural that Bourdon's originality and independence lie, not only in comparison to Poussin but also to the landscapes of Patel and Dughet.

CHAMPAIGNE Jean-Baptiste de

(1631 Brussels; Paris 1681)

Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne came to Paris in 1643; he was elected academician in 1663 and professor in 1664, but as the nephew of Philippe de Champaigne, he lived in his master's shadow until the latter's death in 1674. Unlike his uncle, Jean-Baptiste had made the journey to Italy (1658-1659), but according to Félibien (1696 ed., p. 643), in spite of his stay in Rome, "his figures had always a Flemish feeling about them and were touched, in a manner of speaking, only very lightly by an Italian flavor." In 1667 Jean-Baptiste received the commission for the May of Notre-Dame, Saint Paul Stoned at Lystra (Marseilles, a sketch or copy at Elmira). Elsewhere, he played an important role in the decoration of such royal residences as Versailles, Vincennes, and the Tuileries. He gave lectures at the Académie Royale on Titian, Guido Reni, and above all, Poussin. Although Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne was his uncle's fervent collaborator and although he submitted stylistically to the

latter — to such an extent that for a long time their works were confused — nevertheless, today it is often possible to distinguish the nephew's personality from the uncle's. The painting from Detroit (No. 13) could well serve as a point of departure in the reconstruction of the œuvre of Jean-Baptiste, revealing an artistic personality that is in no way negligible.

13.

The Last Supper

Canvas, 110.5 × 159 cm

Remains of a false signature, lower left: N. Poussin. F.A. 1661.

Provenance: Jean de Julienne collection, Julienne sale, Paris, 30 Mar.-22 May 1767, no. 127: "...a room with architecture, a long table curved at the ends in such a way that all the figures are visible, some in full face, others in profile. In the foreground on the left... a man holds by the handles a cauldron filled with plates; vases and other utensils are placed on a small round table in the middle of the room. The picture is splendid, well made, and correctly drawn. Worthy of the hand of Poussin." This painting may be the one, property of M. Foulquier de Labastide, that was exhibited in Toulouse in 1774 and was still in a collection in Toulouse in 1784. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1926.

Exhibitions: Toulouse (not Paris, Dorival, 1976) Salon 1774, no. 37 (see Mesuret, 1972) (?); Toulouse (not Paris, Dorival, 1976) Salon 1784, no. 19 (see Mesuret, 1972) (?); Detroit, 1937, no. 41; Sarasota, 1956, no. 6, ill.; Montreal-Quebec-Ottawa-Toronto, 1961-1962, no. 12, ill.; Hartford, 1964, no. 208, ill.; New York, Wildenstein, 1968-1969, no. 6, pl. 29.

Bibliography: V[alentinier], 1926, pp. 7-8, ill. p. 2 ("Poussin"); Mus. cat., 1930, p. 11, no. 29, ill. ("Philippe de Champaigne"); Mus. cat., 1960, pl. p. 192; Mus. cat., 1967, p. 23; Mesuret, 1972, p. 253, no. 2439, and p. 428, no. 4771 (?); Dorival, 1976 (II) p. 38, and no. 1646, pl. 1646; Dorival, 1978, pp. 99-110, p. 100, fig. 1.

The Detroit Institute of Arts
Gift of Ralph H. Booth

Published in 1926 by Valentiner as a work by Poussin, the painting was later attributed by Hermann Voss to Philippe de Champaigne (Mus. cat., Detroit, 1930). Frequently exhibited, the painting retained this attribution until recently. It was Bernard Dorival (1976, 1978) who first proposed that Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne, Philippe's nephew, was the painter of this work; his argument is entirely convincing and can no longer be questioned today. The decisive evidence in favor of this attribution is found in correspondence of 1678 (that is, four years after the death of Philippe de Champaigne) between Martin de Barcos (1600-1678) and Jean-Baptiste (published by P. Lacroix, 1856, and A. Gazier, 1891; see also Fontaine, 1908). In this exchange of letters, the pious Jean-Baptiste asked his friend Barcos, a Jansenist and



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the nephew of Saint-Cyran, for precise “iconographical” advice on how to paint the Last Supper in accordance with the holy scriptures. Reading the letters exchanged by the two friends, it is apparent that the painting conforms faithfully to Barcos’s recommendations; Jean-Baptiste thus painted a night scene, the apostles half-leaning over the triclinium and occupying only one side of the table. Maintaining his stylistic autonomy relative to depictions of the same subject by his uncle (Louvre, Lyons), Jean-Baptiste de Champaigne shows himself closer in feeling to Poussin, who also insisted upon historical accuracy (the *Last Supper*, 1641, Louvre, as well as the *Eucharist* and the *Penitence* from the two series of the *Sacraments*). However, that which holds our attention above all is the distinctive style of the work. Admittedly, the finished execution, the coldness of the colors, and the physical types exemplified by the apostles recall Philippe de Champaigne, but the copper tones of their faces, the metallic hardness of the reflections — multiplied toward infinity in the strange, glistening light — and the formal structure of the composition herald a new art, that of the painters of Trianon, the generation of artists born about 1630: Noël Coypel, Houasse, Jean-Baptiste Corneille, Michel Corneille, and Colombel. The originality and independence of these artists we are only now beginning to understand, not only in relation to painters born between 1610 and 1620 (Mignard, Le Brun, Le Sueur, and Bourdon) but also in relation to those born between 1636 and 1661 (Jouvenet, La Fosse, Louis de Boullongne, Antoine Coypel, Largillierre, and Rigaud).

CHAMPAIGNE Philippe de

(1602 Brussels; Paris 1674)

After training at Brussels (notably with Fouquières) and Mons, Champaigne went to Paris in 1621, where he met the young Poussin on the eve of his departure for Italy (Champaigne himself never went to Italy). He worked for Lallemand and for Nicolas Duchesne, whom he succeeded as master in his workshop and whose daughter he married in 1628. Champaigne became a naturalized French citizen in 1629. He was favored by Louis XIII (the Vow of Louis XIII, 1637, Caen) and by Richelieu, whose portrait he painted on several occasions. As a founding member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (1648), official painter for the magistrates of Paris, a popular portraitist, and an official painter for the church and its several factions (the Carthusians, among others), Champaigne was able to maintain without harassment his connections to Port-Royal and to the Jansenists.

For a long time Champaigne has been considered primarily a portraitist. And certainly the Portrait of a Man (1650) and Robert Arnaud d’Andilly (1667), both in the Louvre, with their intense psychological insight, and the Ex-Voto (1662), with its austere spirituality, justify this reputation. A distinctive landscape painter and subtle draftsman, Champaigne was, above all, the author of large retables depicting tranquil yet powerful religious scenes with a nobility at once solemn and serene.

Champaigne has for many years been thought of as an artist with only one style. But his “Flemish finish,” reminiscent of the finish used by the Flemish primitives, his smooth, sharp surfaces, and his vivid colors should not allow us to forget that his is a varied pictorial conception, ranging from a Flemish formula (indebted to Rubens and Pourbus) to compositions rooted in a monumental austerity.

The two volumes that Bernard Dorival has devoted to Champaigne (1976) are indispensable for anyone interested in this artist who combined a scrupulous perfectionism verging on coldness with an inner life of deep intensity.

14.

The Penitent Magdalen

Canvas, 115.5 × 87 cm

Provenance: According to B. Dorival (1976), this painting was in the convent of Saint-Sacrement du Marais, Paris (seized during the Revolution, placed in the Musée des Petits Augustins in 1795, entrusted to Naigeon by Alexandre Le Noir on 2 Jan. 1798). In our opinion, however, this work might well be the canvas of the same subject in the Colbert (1625-1683) collection mentioned by Bonaffé (1884, p. 68) and by Neymarek (1877 [II] p. 474, no. 211). Dorival (1976) cites several references from 19th-century sales catalogues that may relate to the *Houston Magdalen*, but none mentions its size. The London exhibition catalogue of 1951 refers to it as being in the



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Richard Williams collection, Rutland Gate, London, in 1862 (and, in fact, in the sale of this collection, after Williams's death, there was a Magdalen the description of which corresponds to the Houston painting [Christie's, London, 10 May 1862, no. 54, attributed to "Guido"]). [Tooth, 1951]. Wing-Commander John Scott-Taggart collection, 1956, Taggart sale, Sotheby's, London, 4 July 1956, no. 124; private collection, London; [David M. Koetser Gallery, Zurich]; Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1970.

Exhibitions: London, J. A. Tooth, 1951, no. 3, ill. as "French School, 17th century."

Bibliography: Félibien, 1696 ed. (II) p. 581; Le Comte, 1702 ed. (III) p. 93; Blunt, 1952, p. 175; Dorival, *Philippe de Champaigne et Port-Royal* (exh. cat.) Musée National des Granges de Port-Royal, 1957, p. 53; Bardon, 1968, p. 279, n. 31; Ph. de M[ontebello], *The Museum of Fine Arts Houston Bulletin*, Oct. 1970, pp. 66-70, ill., and color detail on cover; *The Art Quarterly*, Spring 1971, p. 126; *ibid.*, Autumn 1971, p. 373, color ill. on cover; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1971, p. 71, fig. 350; Dorival, 1972, p. 50, under no. 79; Dorival, 1976 (I) pp. 51, 140, 160 (II) p. 73, no. 130, pl. 130.

Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

Museum Purchase, Agnes Cullen Arnold Endowment Fund

We know of two Magdalens by Philippe de Champaigne that are extremely similar in composition — one at Houston, identified in 1951 by Anthony Blunt, and one at the museum at Rennes, dated 1657 on the entablature of the stone. The latter, which is slightly larger than the Houston canvas, is from Port-Royal in Paris and was perhaps offered by the artist to the convent in 1657, on the occasion of his daughter's becoming a nun, Sister Catherine de Sainte-Suzanne. The first *Magdalen*, now at Houston, was engraved in reverse in 1651 by Nicolas de Plattemontagne (Gazier, 1893, ill. p. 63). According to Félibien, writing shortly after the death of Champaigne, it was painted in 1648. Bernard Dorival (1976) has argued that the painting at Houston could be confused

with the canvas seized during the Revolution from the Couvent des Dames du Saint-Sacrement du Marais, but until more information is available, we cannot reject the hypothesis that the Houston *Magdalen* is the same painting as that originally in the Colbert collection (Bonnaffé, 1884, p. 68; Champaigne's *Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Colbert*, 1665, is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York [see Inventory]). In our opinion, the latter cannot be confused with the canvas recently acquired by the Tokyo Museum, whose attribution to Champaigne is questionable. The *Magdalen* is a perfect example of Philippe de Champaigne's work at its best. It is noteworthy that the artist, who was acquainted with works of the same subject by his predecessors (he owned a copy of Titian's more blatantly naked *Magdalen*; Grouchy-Guiffrey, 1892, p. 186, no. 82), created a new compositional design. Emphasizing the gesture of the Magdalen's arms crossed over her breast, he paints her hands with infinite skill and loving sensitivity. Deftly he depicts the cracks in the stone and the reflections of light on the burnished skull, and with the precision of a Flemish primitive, he forms the protruding eye and crystalline tears and tenderly carves the long copper tresses. But the force of the image is in no way diminished by its finely rendered details or the smooth refinement of execution; rather, it is accentuated by the ice-cold light, a light that is silent, powerful, and without sensuality — of a spirituality that is absolute.

15.

Moses and the Ten Commandments

Canvas, 99 × 74.5 cm

Provenance: Painted in 1648 for Pomponne II de Bellièvre (1606-1657); collection of his nephew Achille III de Harlay (1639-1712) in 1699. According to the Fesch catalogue, the work was in the Choiseul-Praslin sales of 18 Feb. 1793, no. 147, and 9 May 1808, no. 28 (3,761 francs), but in fact the work to which the catalogue refers, which previously belonged to La Live de Jully (sale, 5 Mar. 1770, no. 9), is the version of the composition now in the Hermitage. Cardinal Fesch (1763-1839) collection (cat. 1841, no. 279), Napoleon's uncle; Fesch sale, Rome, 17 Mar. 1845, no. 42; [purchased by Warneck for 255 scudi]; collection of surgeon Leroy d'Etiolles (1798-1860); Leroy d'Etiolles's sale, Paris, 21-22 Feb. 1861, no. 9 (not 97), (4,300 francs), bought back; offered for sale to the Louvre in 1864 by a descendant of Leroy d'Etiolles. Paris sale, 16 Mar. 1904, no. 8 [purchased for 560 francs by the expert Féral], Christie's, London, 16 Dec. 1921, no. 73 (?). Christie's, London, 27 Jan. 1928, no. 104 (?). [Heim, Paris]; Milwaukee Art Museum, 1964.

Bibliography: Félibien, 1696 ed. (II) p. 581; Le Comte, 1702 ed. (III) p. 93; Blanc, 1857 (II) p. 244; Ph. Burty and W. Bürger [pseud. (Thoré)] *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 15 Feb. 1861, p. 242; *The Art Quarterly*, No. 1/2, 1965, p. 107, pl. p. 113; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1965, pp. 40-41, fig. 175; Dorival,



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1972, p. 5, fig. 1, and pp. 23-24, under no. 9; Mus. cat., 1975, unpaginated, ill.; Dorival, 1976 (I) pp. 51, 76, 78, 81, 117, 137, 140, 187, 189, 190 (II) p. 13, no. 12, pl. 12.

Milwaukee Art Museum Collection
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Myron Laskin

Félibien dates this work, as he dates the *Penitent Magdalen* (No. 14), 1648. It was painted for Pomponne II de Bellièvre, Premier Président of the Parlement of Paris in 1651. (Champaigne's portrait of de Bellièvre, now in the Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, was painted several years later.) In 1699 the *Moses* belonged to de Bellièvre's nephew, the great connoisseur Achille de Harlay, also Premier Président, and it was to de Harlay that Gérard Edelinck dedicated the engraving, which was begun by Robert Nanteuil (*Gazier*, 1893, ill. p. 91). Another version of the painting is in the Hermitage and came from the La Live de Jully collection ("Flemish school, Philippe Van Champaigne") and the Choiseul-Praslin collection. It was acquired by the Hermitage at the second Choiseul-Praslin sale of 1808. The Hermitage *Moses*, which is signed (Dorival, 1976, no. 13), is different from the Milwaukee painting in several ways (for example, the Decalogue on the tablet is written in capital letters rather than in a rounded, slanting hand), which confirms that it was not the same painting as that engraved by Nanteuil and Edelinck. Titon du Tillet owned a third version of the *Moses*, which, according to Bonnaffé (1884, p. 307), was still in the possession of one of his descendants in 1884 (Dorival, no. 1864?). Is this perhaps the painting, assuming that at best it comes from Champaigne's atelier, that was put up for sale three times in recent years (Sedelmeyer sale, 17-18 May 1907, no. 187, ill.; anonymous sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, 9-10 December 1949, no. 11, pl. IV; anonymous sale, Hôtel des Chevaux-légers,

Versailles, 8 March 1970, no. 8)? Champaigne wanted, with the *Moses*, to paint a realistic — we are almost tempted to say hyper-realistic — work without, however, in the least neglecting the religious content of the theme. The veins of Moses' long elegant hands, the gnarled joints of his fingers, the wrinkled forehead, the crystal transparency of the pupil, and the half-open mouth are depicted with meticulous and stunning skill. As for the famous inscription on the tablets, *Escoute Israël*, it is painted with an evident delight in trompe-l'œil. The work also indicates, as Bernard Dorival pointed out in 1976, Champaigne's erudition in theological matters (e.g., Moses is without horns, the tablets are rectangular rather than curved, and so forth).

Above all, however, Champaigne wanted to convey the intense spiritual life that radiates from this majestic and imposing figure. The forceful image standing out from the black background, as if outside of time, suggests the spirituality of the seventeenth century emerging from the blackness of an unenlightened era.

16.

Portrait of Omer II Talon

Canvas, 225 × 161.5 cm

Signed and dated on foot of column at left: *P. Champaigne. F A^o 1649. ÆTA^s 54.*

Provenance: Joly de Fleury collection (?), Omer Talon's son-in-law. Subsequently, a descendant of Joly de Fleury married a de Buttet (information not verified, given in Eisler, 1977). De Buttet collection, lac du Bourget (Savoie); J. Parisot collection, Paris; [Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York]; Samuel H. Kress, 1950; exhibited National Gallery of Art since 1951; National Gallery of Art, 1952.

Bibliography: Mus. cat. (Kress coll.) 1951, p. 93; Frankfurter, 1952, pp. 127-128, pl. p. 127; Cooke, 1959, p. 14; Isarlo, 1960, pl. 56; Seymour, 1961, pl. 142 (detail); Thuillier and Châtelet, 1964, p. 34, colorpl. p. 33, ill. p. 34 (detail); Rosenberg, 1966 (I) colorpl. VIII (French ed., 1968, pl. VIII); Dorival, 1970, pp. 265, 272, fig. 5, and p. 317; Dorival, 1976 (I) pp. 9, 25, 101, 128, 132, 134, 160, 169, 189 (II) no. 218, pl. 218; Eisler, 1977, pp. 287-289, fig. 258.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Samuel H. Kress Collection 1952

Omer II Talon (1595-1652) was the son of a Parisian magistrate of Irish origin. Avocat Général of the Parlement in 1631 and Premier Avocat in 1641, he vigorously defended the prerogatives of Parlement before the king and his ministers. During the first Fronde (1648-1649), he attempted to prevent a rupture between the two sides. The memoirs of this prudent and highly competent Jansenist were published in 1821.



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The Washington portrait (of which there is a very beautiful smaller replica in a private collection in Bologna, 185 × 130 cm), painted three years before the sitter's death, has been twice engraved: by Jean Morin (d. 1650), as a half-length octagonal portrait, soon after its completion, and by Jollain, incorrectly inscribed: *H. Testelin pinxit*.

Signed and dated in capital letters sculpted into the marble column at left, the imposing Washington canvas, Champaigne's masterpiece in portraiture, strikes us immediately with its three boldly juxtaposed patches of red — the lilac satin curtain, the plum-colored velvet chair, and the orange red robe of the magistrate. Champaigne seated his model in a solemn marble decor, in front of a table covered with an Oriental carpet, on which are placed a book, an inkwell and pen, and a clock. A statue of Justice with her fasces above the table alludes to Omer Talon's profession. The sitter holds a letter in his hand — one of those beautiful, elegant hands Champaigne so loved to paint.

This brilliant state portrait attempts not only to depict with incisive realism the model's features and bearing but also to create an image that symbolizes his position in society. The severe, concerned, barely smiling face, which gazes at us unrelentingly, is painted with restraint, conveying the detachment and arrogance that is characteristic of Champaigne. But in addition to his desire to depict Talon exactly as he was, objectively, with no more sympathy for his features than for his character, Champaigne also wanted to convey a sense of the magistrate's responsibilities and duties; hence this impassive image, dignified by a marble frame and placed on a kind of platform. The portrait prepares us for David's *Napoleon in His Study in the Tuileries* (1812), which hangs in a room nearby in the National Gallery of Art.



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17.

Christ on the Cross

Canvas, 90.5 × 56 cm

Painting relined in 1969; inscription in Flemish on back of original canvas no longer visible: *voor myne beminde suster Marie de Champaigne religieuse Brussels*.

Provenance: Given by Champaigne to his youngest sister Marie, a Beguine nun who lived in Brussels. It is difficult to identify this Crucifixion with any of those up for sale during the 18th and 19th centuries (Dorival, 1976, nos. 563-582). The measurements of this work do not correspond with those of the Crucifixions mentioned in the sale catalogues. Palais Galliera, Paris, 22 Oct. 1968, no. 42, pl. 7 ("attributed to Philippe de Champaigne"); [Frederick Mont, New York]; Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, 1970.

Bibliography: *Gazette des Beaux Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1971, p. 73, fig. 348; *The Art Quarterly*, Spring 1971, p. 131, ill.; Coe, 1972, pp. 532-533, fig. 4; Dorival, 1972, p. 33, under no. 34; Mus. cat., 1973, p. 128, ill.; Dorival, 1976 (I) pp. 25, 117, 137, 150, 159 (II) no. 2044, pl. 2044.

Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, Missouri
Nelson Fund

The problem of identifying and dating Champaigne's several Crucifixions is less complex than might at first appear. Champaigne painted two types of Crucifixion scene, one in which Christ raises his eyes toward heaven in supplication and one in which Christ is shown dying on the cross. Two large versions of the second type are known: one, greater in height than in width, is in a private collection in Toulouse (Dorival, 1976, no. 71), and the other, somewhat squarer, is in the Grenoble Museum (*idem*, no. 70). The

sketch (we shall return to the meaning of this term) for the first work has recently been acquired by the National Gallery of Canada (idem, no. 2045). The second work is catalogued here as the sketch for the painting in Grenoble. The first painting was engraved by François de Poilly (Dorival, 1972, no. 34); the second, painted for the Grande Chartreuse of Grenoble, is signed and dated 1655.

While the sketch at Ottawa differs very little from the engraving, the same cannot be said for the painting at Kansas City. The absence of Adam's skull at the foot of the cross and the fact that Christ's feet are fixed by two nails rather than one could indeed suggest that it was a preparatory work for the painting that was engraved. One distinction, however, considered in the light of Champaigne's theological erudition and his respect for sacred texts, indicates that the work is a *modello*, with a few modifications, for the painting at Grenoble: Christ's wound is on the right side of his body, as in the painting at Grenoble, whereas in both the engraving and the painting at Ottawa, it is on the left side.

The inscription on the back of the canvas confirms the fact that Champaigne gave the painting, an appropriate gift, to his sister Marie, a nun in a Beguine convent in Brussels. The inscription, which is for the most part in Flemish, is proof that the artist, who had left his city of birth at the age of nineteen, had not forgotten his native tongue, and it reaffirms the bonds that continued to unite Champaigne with his family. It is more than likely that it was in 1655, the date of his journey to Brussels and the date of the canvas at Grenoble, that Champaigne offered the painting to his sister.

One often finds in Champaigne's work small pictures of which there exist larger versions. Did these pictures serve as sketches or reductions, models for, or replicas of the larger works? Their careful execution, "the almost Gerard Davidian handling" (Coe, 1972), might lead one to believe they were painted later than the larger works. We believe, on the contrary, that they are finished studies, later realized on a larger scale, sometimes with the help of an assistant at the atelier.

Champaigne's Christ stands out against a somber sky, his body bathed in an artificial, unreal light, thus conforming, as in many other details, to the biblical text (Dorival). With its impeccable draftsmanship, the Kansas City work unites two important traditions: the smooth, careful technique of the Flemish primitives, whose influence was not yet very much in evidence, and an austere classicism, exemplified by the work of Poussin. The coldness of the work, which prefigures the academic tradition of the nineteenth century, a tradition that even today is scorned, should not allow us to ignore the power and originality of the image, particularly when viewed in the context of Crucifixions by such contemporaries of Champaigne as Rubens, Van Dyck, Velázquez, Murillo, the Carracci, Guido Reni, Simon Vouet, and La Hyre.



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18.

Christ Healing the Deaf-Mute

Canvas, 59.5 × 74 cm

Provenance: Private collection, France, as Poussin; Heim, Paris, 1960; [Fine Art Trading, New York]; The University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1960.

Exhibitions: New York, Wildenstein, 1973-1975, no. 6, ill. (exhibited New York only); New York, Wildenstein, 1978, no. 13, fig. 17.

Bibliography: *Art Journal*, Spring 1968, p. 160, fig. 6; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 1, 1961, p. 99, ill.; Sutton, 1961, pp. 253-254, pl. p. 255; Mus. cat., 1962, pl. 15; Dorival, 1976 (I) pp. 88, 119, 121, 122 (II) p. 127, no. 229, pl. 229; Mus. cat. (N. Whitman) 1979, no. 46, ill.

The University of Michigan Museum of Art

The inventory made after the death of Philippe de Champaigne by his nephew Jean-Baptiste (Grouchy-Guiffrey, 1892) indicates that the artist painted a considerable number of landscapes, most of which included biblical scenes. Unlike the painting at San Diego (see Inventory), the Ann Arbor painting, which depicts Christ healing a deaf-mute in the presence of the apostles, does not appear to be mentioned in the inventory, although the descriptions are often extremely vague. It can, nevertheless, be dated with certainty (as can most of Champaigne's landscapes) within the last years of the artist's active life, and it seems, on the basis of style, to have been painted earlier than the series of the Val-de-Grâce (c. 1656, Louvre, Tours, and Mainz). Not that Champaigne did not paint landscapes in his youth; on the contrary, Félibien (1696 ed., pp. 571-572) reports that already in Brussels, Fouquières had Champaigne paint landscapes that he then "fairly often passed off as his own."

And when Poussin left for Rome in 1624, Champaigne gave him a landscape that he had previously asked for (idem, p. 573). These early works, however, are no longer known today.

The landscape of Champaigne's maturity bear the stamp of the Northern tradition and of his Flemish training — trees with dense foliage, bird's-eye views of the scene, decentralized compositions with hilly terrains, a love of picturesque detail (here, the fisherman in his boat) — but the delicate atmosphere, the restraint and serenity with which Champaigne describes the countryside are the result of his long stay in Paris. As to the Christian message of the painting, accentuated by the presence in the foreground of two swans and their signets, symbols of innocence (Dorival, 1976), it is entirely Champaigne's own invention.

CHAPERON Nicolas

(1612 Châteaudun; Rome [?] 1656 [?])

Research on Chaperon has progressed little since Charles Sterling's study of 1960. A pupil of Vouet's, Chaperon left for Rome in 1640 (according to Mariette) or in 1642 (according to most other authors). "He paints in Poussin's style," wrote the abbé Bourdelot in 1642, "I think he will succeed." But although Poussin refers to Chaperon several times in his Correspondance, it is in harsh terms, judging the man and his work with equal severity. Chaperon visited Malta briefly in 1643. The publication, in 1649, of fifty-four prints after Raphael's Loggie, which Chaperon dedicated to Gilles Renard, established his reputation. There appear to be no references to him after 1651, and he was assumed dead in 1656.

As an engraver of Bacchanals (1639), Chaperon deserves attention to the extent that his works show an early knowledge of Poussin's paintings. As an excellent draftsman, Chaperon was also indebted to Poussin, whose style he copied though in a more marked style. As for Chaperon's paintings, those that can be definitively attributed to him (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, 1639, Church of Saint-Nicolas, Compiègne; oil sketch, Houston; the Union of Venus and Bacchus, 1639, Dallas [see Inventory]; Bacchus and Ariadne, Blunt, 1966, R. 68; Drunken Silenus, Uffizi) are as yet too few to permit a fair assessment, still less a chronology, of his work.



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19.

The Nurture of Jupiter

Canvas, 99 × 136 cm

Provenance: Architect Léon Dufourny (1760-1818) collection, Paris, no later than 1811; Dufourny sale, Paris, 22 Nov. 1819, no. 50 ("Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy"; illustrated by an engraving after the painting by Devilliers [Étienne?, 1784-1844]), bought back; sale of Dufourny's nephew, Paris, 15-16 Mar. 1824, no. 12 ("Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy"). Private collection, Paris, 1966; acquired [from Wildenstein, New York] by The Ackland Art Museum, 1968.

Exhibitions: Chapel Hill, 1969, no. 18.

Bibliography: Landon, 1811 (II, 4) pl. CLXV (engraving by Mme Marie-Pauline Soyer [née Landon]; "Poussin"); Smith, 1837 (VIII) p. 109, no. 208 ("Poussin"); Blunt, 1966, p. 175, R.81 ("early and close imitator of Poussin"); *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1970, p. 66, no. 305 ("École de Poussin"); Mus. cat., 1971, no. 59, ill. "Chaperon"; Rosenberg, 1971 (French ed., 1976) p. 89, under no. 14 ("Chaperon"); Thuillier, 1974 (Italian and French eds.) R.72, ill. ("location unknown; an artist close to Poussin and of very high quality"); Rosenberg, Florence (exh. cat.) 1977, p. 124, under no. 75.

The Ackland Art Museum, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

The canvas at Chapel Hill was originally attributed to Poussin and then to Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy (1611-1668), an intimate friend of Mignard's and one of the first French art critics; it was engraved by Marie-Pauline Soyer under an attribution to Poussin in Landon's well-known work *Vie et œuvres des peintres* (1811) and engraved by Devilliers (Étienne?) still under the attribution to Dufresnoy, a painter whose work is still largely unknown, in the Dufourny sale catalogue of 1819. However, there can be no doubt (as we already proposed in 1971) that this work is in

fact by Chaperon, who was known by his contemporaries as a skillful imitator of Poussin. Indeed, there is in the collection of the Besançon Museum a drawing squared for transfer (Rosenberg, 1971, fig. 14) that is a study for the central group: Jupiter is nurtured by Amalthea's goat, which is held by a satyr and nymph, while a second nymph gathers honeycomb from a tree. In the canvas, the honeycomb has been replaced by a bunch of grapes. (Has the artist perhaps confused the Nurture of Jupiter with the Birth of Bacchus?) Two additional figures have been added: a third nymph at the left, who gathers honeycomb from a beehive, and a shepherd playing the flute of Pan, in the foreground at the right.

The attribution to Chaperon of the Besançon drawing, which formerly was also attributed to Poussin, is uncontested. There can be no mistaking the hatched and broken technique, the nervous strokes of the pen, the characteristic way of only vaguely sketching in the faces and eyes and outlining the musculature of the figures. Although the attribution of this Chapel Hill canvas to Chaperon is assured by the drawing, its date remains a problem. Does the work belong to the artist's Paris phase, during which he painted and engraved Bacchanals and other mythological subjects (the *Union of Venus and Bacchus*; see Inventory), or was it executed after Chaperon settled in Rome (1640-1642)? It is difficult to make a definitive attribution, since there are so few secure reference points in the fragile chronology of Chaperon's work. In any case, thanks to the Chapel Hill canvas, which, although awkwardly composed, nonetheless possesses a certain charm and grace and a bucolic spirit that gives intimations of developments in the eighteenth century, we hope it will be possible to attribute to Chaperon some of the works that today are relegated to the vast school of Poussin.

It is also interesting to compare the Chapel Hill painting to the canvas of the same subject from Washington. The latter, which we attribute to Poussin (No. 92), as well as Poussin's two other canvases that depict the Nurture of Jupiter (Dulwich and Berlin), must have inspired Chaperon, prompting him to compete with his glorious exemplar.

COLOMBEL Nicolas

(1644 Sotteville, near Rouen; Paris 1717)

Anthony Blunt's article (1970; see also Master Drawings, 1980, pp. 144-147) has made the name Colombel, if not commonly known, then at least familiar to art historians. It is not unreasonable to assume that had the artist not, shortly after his death, been the subject of a rather critical but nonetheless extremely pertinent biography by Dezallier d'Argenville (1762 [IV] pp. 224-229), he would have been all but forgotten.

A student of Pierre de Sève's, Colombel went some time before 1680 to Rome, where he was elected to the Accademia di San Luca (1686). After his return to Paris, he was elected academician (1694), following the efforts of Mignard; then assistant professor (1701); and finally professor (1705).

Examples of his works, which consist mainly of cabinet paintings with religious and mythological subjects, are fairly abundant, particularly in the United States. Resolutely faithful to Raphael and Poussin, firmly reactionary, and behind the times, Colombel might appear isolated from the painters of his generation, particularly when compared to Jouvenet, his exact contemporary (and compatriot); to La Fosse, eight years his senior; or indeed to François de Troy or Joseph Parrocel, his juniors by one and four years, respectively. But if one thinks of Noël Coypel, Houasse (also born in 1644), or Verdier (born in 1651), it becomes apparent that Colombel is rather the most intransigent representative of the trend that, in the name of Poussin, would maintain French painting within a classical tradition. Admittedly (and Dezallier d'Argenville reproaches him enough for it), Colombel voluntarily adhered — almost to the point of caricature — to a rigid and dogmatic imitation of Poussin's most glacial style. Nevertheless, the "beautiful finish of [Colombel's] brushwork," his coldly objective interpretation of the world of the Bible and of antiquity, and his preference for vivid or even raw colors afford his work a kind of hyperrealism that is not without seduction.

20.

Moses Defending the Daughters of Jethro

Canvas, 121 × 172 cm

Provenance: Christie's, London, 19 July 1974, no. 158, pl. 45; [Julius Weitzner, London]; [Heim, London]; acquired [from Julius Weitzner, London] by Stanford University Museum of Art, 1980.

Exhibitions: London, Heim, 1977, no. 2, ill.

Bibliography: Conisbee, *The Burlington Magazine*, July 1977, p. 516.

Stanford University Museum of Art
Gift of the Committee for Art at Stanford



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One might well be tempted to identify the Stanford painting with the Meudon *Moses and the Daughters of Jethro* described by Dezallier d'Argenville (1762 [IV] p. 227) and by Pahin de la Blancherie (1783, p. 226). That painting, however, was oval and should be attributed to Alexandre Ubelesk, another adherent of the *style froid*.

The Stanford *Moses and the Daughters of Jethro* is, of course, an intentional pastiche of the painting by Poussin, a painting that is known today only through an engraving (Blunt, 1966, no. 17; Thuillier, 1974, no. 149) and various preparatory drawings. Colombel, who had seen either the original or a copy of it, borrows, without considerably modifying it, Poussin's group of Moses chasing the shepherds. The landscape, however, with the inevitable palm tree, is entirely Colombel's. And the group of Sephora with her followers, although inspired by Poussin, does not directly quote him.

When did Colombel paint this work? Had he seen Poussin's canvas at Rome, where the artist was still living in 1686? Or at Paris, where he settled by the very latest in 1693? Our tendency is to support the first hypothesis, since the Stanford canvas resembles so closely the four canvases sent from Rome to Paris in 1682 (Blunt, 1970, figs. 1, 2, 4, 5), three of which are now in the United States (Los Angeles and St. Louis). After 1694, Colombel's style changed from one of cold, technical perfection to one that was clumsier and more affected. Admittedly, the Stanford canvas, with its references to antique sculpture and to Poussin's work of the 1640s, is archaic and intentionally artificial. And there is no aerial perspective, which places the figures and the landscape on the same plane. But the icy perfection of execution, the ingenuity of expression, and the academic references give to the work a flavor that is unique. The painting could be considered an abortive attempt by a man who believed that "the quality of the student's work is dependent entirely upon the excellence of the master" (Dezallier d'Argenville), but it is nonetheless an ambitious attempt, one that a century later would again be taken up — this time with great success — by Ingres.

CONTE Meiffren Ephrem, Ephren, Ephraïm Comte or Le Comte

(c. 1630 Marseilles; Marseilles 1705)

A student of Rodolphe Ziegler, a painter of German origin, Conte is perhaps confused with the Conti mentioned as having been in Rome in 1651 (Bousquet, 1980, p. 221). He married in Marseilles in 1654, and from that date onward he spent his time between Marseilles and Aix-en-Provence. However, probably between 1671 and 1675 he lived in Paris, where he worked or was at least in contact with the group of artists at the Gobelins. (His son Sauveur [1659-1694], who was well known for his gallery in Chantilly illustrating the feats of war of the Grand Condé, married the granddaughter of Yvart, and van der Meulen was the godfather of one of his children.) In 1675 Conte was named *Maître Peintre* of the king's galleys at Marseilles.

Félibien and Florent Le Comte both confirm that although Conte was active in the south of France, he was not unknown in Paris. "He excelled in the depiction of carpets, armor, and gold or silver, which he painted with great veracity," wrote Mariette (1856 ed. [III] p. 114). Only recently has his life (Boyer, 1971) and his work (Marcus, 1966; Faré, 1974; Nathalie Volle, in Marseilles exh. cat., 1978) been rediscovered. A large number of his paintings, nearly all of which are still lifes that depict a limited number of heavily decorated objects of gold or silver plate seen from different angles, are known today. Uneven in quality and repetitive, Conte's works are surprising — first, because of their heavily cluttered aspect and, second, because of their virtuosity of execution and their strangeness, a strangeness that makes one question whether it was unintentional. Decorative works, the canvases of Conte are also beguiling curiosities, designed to perplex.

21.

Still Life with Hercules Candlestick, Ewer, and Silver Dish

Canvas, 92 × 144.5 cm

Provenance: [Heim Gairac, Paris, 1699]; private collection, New York.

Bibliography: *Connaissance des Arts*, Feb. 1970, p. 37, ill.; Faré, 1974, pl. pp. 226-227; Volle in Marseilles (exh. cat.) 1978, pp. 18, 168, ill. p. 167.

Private collection, New York

This rich still life depicts the basic objects usually found in



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the paintings of Conte: shells that evoke distant seas; lemons; oranges; orange blossom; and the predominant heavily decorated silver- and gold-plated ware — the candlestick with the statuette of Hercules, the silver-gilded ewer, and the large silver dish. The first object, which Conte painted often and from a variety of angles (Karlsruhe; Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris), was perhaps inspired by or copied from (Lauts, 1970, p. 24) “one of the twelve great silver candlesticks [from the collection of Louis XIV] that represent the Labors of Hercules, each figure carrying on its head a bobèche for the candle” (Guiffrey, 1885 [I] p. 79, nos. 738-749, and p. 98, no. 1112). Hercules is easily recognizable, sitting on the Arcadian stag with his club. In addition to the candlestick, the large silver-gilt ewer at the center of the table, embellished with figures in a procession, among whom are a cardinal and a monarch, is another object frequently depicted by Conte (Valenciennes, Karlsruhe, Warsaw, Toulon, to name only the museums). Does it represent an actual piece of Genoese silver, or is it an object of the artist’s imagination? To date, a satisfactory answer to this question has not been proposed. Nor can we answer this question in regard to the large dish on the coffer; the dish, however, in comparison to that in other paintings (Saint Étienne; and, above all, the painting signed by Conte, private collection, Paris; Faré, 1974, p. 215, ill. in color), has the distinction of having a coat of arms emblazoned at its center.

But whether the objects are Genoese (as is probable) or Parisian, or whether they are imaginary creations is of less importance than Conte’s desire incessantly to repeat them like so many variations on a theme. Within a basic repertory, Conte wished to display his talents as a painter of *trompe-l’œil*. Was Conte, in creating the illusion of reality in these crowded compositions, attempting to dazzle his clients and to give them the illusion that they actually possessed these pieces of opulent gold and silver? The interpretation is perhaps too ambitious, although it is hardly possible to view the paintings merely as virtuoso performances or as simple decorative works.

COURTOIS Jacques called Le Bourguignon

(1621 Saint-Hippolyte; Rome 1676)

At the age of fifteen Courtois went to Italy, where he remained the rest of his life. Our knowledge of his training in Bologna, Florence, and Sienna is somewhat obscure. In Rome from 1640, he frequented the company of bambocciate painters, while he established his own reputation as a painter of battle scenes. Well known from 1650 onward, he traveled to Sienna, Florence, Fribourg, and Venice. In 1657 he entered the Jesuit order, thereafter signing his vigorous drawings in ink with a cross. His several religious paintings, his frescoes, form a substantial part of his œuvre, but it was primarily his battle scenes that assured him a European following; indeed, to such an extent that for the next three centuries, all paintings of this genre were attributed to the “Borgognone” (the Burgundian). Courtois’s formula was innovative: instead of placing himself above the scene whose episodes he was describing, instead of creating a frieze as the artists of the Renaissance had done, Courtois placed himself in the midst of the battle, which often included Turkish and European cavalrymen.

Courtois’s influence on Italian artists (Monti and, especially, Simonini, among others) and French artists (Joseph Parrocel) was considerable. Salvagnini’s work on the artist (1936) is obsolete, but as a result of the research of Edward Holt (primarily that published in his article of 1969), we now have a fairly good idea of the artist’s style and its evolution. It is, however, to be regretted that the artistic personality of Jacques Courtois has today been somewhat eclipsed by that of his brother Guillaume (1628-1679), a painter of religious works who occupied a prominent position in Rome among the artists of his generation.

22.

Battle Between Turks and Christians

Canvas, 59.5 × 72.5 cm

23.

After the Battle

Canvas, 60 × 72.5 cm

Provenance: [De Motte, Paris and New York]; [Victor D. Spark, New York, since at least 1954 (No. 22 is illustrated in the advertisement section of *The Art Quarterly*, no. 1, 1964) and until 1974]; The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1974.



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Exhibitions: Nashville, The Tennessee Botanical Gardens and Fine Arts Center, Inc., *Four Centuries of French Paintings*, 8 Dec. 1961-17 Jan. 1962 (no cat.); New York, 1967, nos. 43, 44, ill.; [Providence] 1968, nos. 34, 35, ill.; Jacksonville-St. Petersburg, 1969-1970, no. 19 (both paintings).

The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
Mildred Anna Williams Fund, 1974.4 and 1974.3

These two works, although exhibited many times, have never been published. They are attributed to Jacques Courtois without reservation by Hermann Voss (1954, in writing), Edward Holt (1978, in writing), and Antoine Schnapper (1979, in writing); Marco Chiarini, Rodolfo Pallucchini (1978, in writing), and Jacques Thuillier (conversation at the San Francisco Museum) are less convinced about the attribution to Courtois because, in their opinion, the steel blue and the freedom of composition are more characteristically Italian than French. Nevertheless, the categorical position taken by the two most knowledgeable Courtois specialists — Edward Holt, author of a seminal article on the artist published in 1969, and Anna Maria Guiducci, who recently (1981) made a study of Courtois's drawings — has persuaded us to exhibit the two paintings with an attribution to Courtois.

The first painting depicts, as was so often the case with Courtois, a battle between Turks and Christians. A Turk wearing a turban appears about to be thrown from his horse, while the strewn bodies indicate that the Christians will soon cry victory. In the distance at left is a skirmish between cavalymen. The second painting shows the aftermath of battle — dead horses and a soldier lying prostrate in the dust, a carriage racing through the field. At the center of the composition, a flag-bearer on horseback glances back at the corpse of a soldier stripped of his armor.

Holt and Guiducci agree that the San Francisco canvases were painted fairly late in the artist's career, and both compare the work to Courtois's *After the Battle* (Gemälde-



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galerie, Dresden, no. 746), which Guiducci dates about the beginning of the 1660s, shortly after the artist entered the Jesuit order. Courtois describes his battle scenes objectively, without sentimentality — like Aniello Falcone, “without heroes.” Cloudy skies dominate both scenes, but their most striking aspect is a freedom of execution, the rapid, nervous brushstrokes with which Courtois sketches the cavalymen and the soldiers in the distance. The artist pays careful attention to specific gestures, to the writhing of entangled bodies, to the violent clash of arms. And then, by way of contrast, he shows the field in devastation, pacified by war.

DARET Jean

(1613 or 1615 Brussels; Aix-en-Provence 1668)

Born in Brussels, Jean Daret spent part of his youth, about which little is known, in Italy and was probably at Aix-en-Provence from 1635 onward. From 1640 he was the most popular artist in the city, painting large religious canvases, genre scenes, portraits, and decorations for private residences. Between 1660 and 1663 Daret went to Paris and was accepted (agrée) by the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. Romanelli, passing through Aix, expressed admiration for Daret's great decorations, in which “perspective is so well and so accurately observed” (de Haitze, 1679). Daret died in 1668, a wealthy and famous man.

The work of Daret is evidence that seventeenth-century French painting was not confined to Paris. The artist's finest works are his many religious canvases that adorn the churches in the south of France. With great technical facility, Daret combines realistic passages that indicate an extensive knowledge of Caravaggism with a sober and refined handling of compositional elements showing the influence of the school of Bologna. While a certain cold objectivity and thematic repetitiveness is characteristic of his work, Daret appeals



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to us with his charm and ingenuity and with the delicacy of his palette.

The present state of research on Daret is shown in the pages devoted to him in the Marseilles exhibition catalogue of 1978 and in the catalogue raisonné of his work.

24.

Woman Playing a Lute

Canvas, 125.5 × 96 cm

Signed and dated, lower left (barely legible): Daret... // et pinxit 1638.

Provenance: Probably the "Lady Playing the Lute," which in 1742 belonged to Joseph-Paul de Ricard, marquis de Joyeuse-Garde, senior member of Parliament, Aix-en-Provence (Isarlo, 1941, p. 115; Boyer, 1965, p. 100, no. 1, p. 112, n. 51; Rosenberg in Marseilles [exh. cat.] 1978, p. 171). According to the inventory of 6 June published by Jean Boyer after Ricard's death, the painting was "six pieds de large," but the research of Françoise Heilbrun in the municipal archives of Aix (BB 221, fol. 472, in writing) has enabled us to rectify this point: the painting, valued at 50 livres, in fact measured "cinq pans de largeur" (approximately three feet). Yale University Art Gallery, 1979.

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Gabriel Semo

Of the few known genre scenes by Daret, *Woman Playing a Lute* (previously unpublished) immediately brings to mind the artist's best known painting, the *Guitar Player*, in the Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence (Marseilles exh. cat., 1978, no. 45, ill.). Indeed, were the present canvas slightly smaller

and dated 1636 rather than 1638, the two might be considered pendants. By 1638, Daret had been at Aix for some years and was already known for several of his portraits (Hermitage, Marseilles) and for his early religious works (the *Miracles of the Savior*, Church of the Magdalen, Aix-en-Provence).

The Yale painting has elements of, on the one hand, the small Northern paintings that Daret would have seen in his native Brussels and, on the other, the many representations of musicians inspired by Caravaggio. One admires the stunning contrast between the richly clad black servant and her elegant mistress, adorned with a gown of yellow gold and pale pink. With one hand, she turns a page of the score offered to her, while with the other (a soft, plumpish hand with tiny nails like the hand of Pomona in the *Sleep of Pomona*, 1643, the other painting by Daret in the United States [New York art market]), she holds the lute. In contrast to the guitar player, whose expression is inspired, the lutanist seems distracted, hardly thinking of her music.

Although Daret soon abandoned genre scenes of Caravaggesque inspiration in favor of large decorations and religious paintings, he did not lose his natural feeling for moderate, well-balanced compositions, and subtly harmonized, delicate colors.

DERUET Claude

(c. 1588 Nancy; Nancy 1660)

Apprenticed to Jacques Bellange in 1605, Claude Deruet was in Italy — mainly in Rome — from 1613, or perhaps from as early as 1611, onward. He was a pupil of Tempesta and of the Cavaliere d'Arpino, and he seems to have been in contact with the late proponents of Mannerism. After his return to Nancy in 1620, he assumed artistic direction of the court of Lorraine. His prolific output, which includes half-length portraits, equestrian scenes, allegorical and mythological subjects, great religious works, and the decoration of the ducal palace of Nancy for the maréchal de La Ferté (to whom the city of Nancy offered in 1651 the Rape of the Sabines, now in Munich), is indicative of his reputation; his ennoblement offers confirmation of his favor at court. Deruet's known paintings, today quite numerous, with a naïve charm and preciousity that are not without distinction, are reflections of the late Mannerism enjoyed by the court of Lorraine.

Deruet, although lacking the talent of his contemporaries La Tour, Claude, and Callot, confirms the vitality of the school of Lorraine in the seventeenth century at the point when the duchy lost its independence, although the art of this school had little stylistic unity.

We are indebted to the research of François-Georges Pariset for our knowledge of this artist.



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25.

The Departure of the Amazons for War

Canvas, 51 × 66 cm
Signed, lower left: [D]ERV[ET]

Provenance: [Galerie Marcus, Paris, before 1968]; [F. Kleinberger, New York, 1968-1975]; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976.

Bibliography: Mus. cat. (Baetjer) 1980 (I) p. 46 (III) ill. p. 483.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Bequest of Harry G. Sperling

The pendant of this painting, another scene showing the battle between the Amazons and the conquered Greek warriors, is also in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (see Inventory). The New York paintings are two in a series of four (all of the same dimensions), of which the other two are in the La Fère Museum (Viatte, 1964, p. 225, figs. 7, 8). The same four scenes, episodes in the war of the Amazons, are represented in a series of four canvases acquired in 1963 by the Strasbourg Museum. The Strasbourg canvases, however, are simplified and have fewer figures; thus, the canvas that depicts the first episode in the series, the *Departure of the Amazons for War*, shows only three pairs of horsewomen adorned with plumes. The Amazons who in the present canvas carry lances are absent from the Strasbourg version, as are the flag-bearer and the figure at the extreme right, who appears to be in command and who wears a kind of plumed beret, similar to certain creations of Vignon and Lallemant (also from Lorraine). The same thick foliage, luxuriant trees, and fantastic architecture is seen in the middle ground of both pictures.

According to the inventory drawn up after his death

(Jacquot, 1894, pp. 799-852; Pariset, 1956), Deruet was particularly fond of painting Amazon battles, women hunting, and vivid scenes of war. Responding to Northern Mannerism, which flourished in Rome, Deruet fills his composition — which has none of the brutal lyricism of the famous canvas by Rubens — with a romanticism that, although somewhat external, nevertheless has great charm. His works in turn evoke the world of Fontainebleau, Nicolo dell'Abate, Mastelletta, and the Flemish Mannerists. In all probability painted on his return from Italy in 1620, the painting's attraction lies above all in its romanesque fantasy and mannered archaism.

DUGHET Gaspard also known as Gaspar Poussin

(1615 Rome; Rome 1675)

In 1630, Nicolas Poussin married Anne Dugbet, the daughter of a pastrycook of French origin who had settled in Rome. Probably in the following year, her younger brother Gaspard entered Poussin's studio and stayed there until 1635. After several trips, he established himself in Rome, where the execution of several fresco cycles (Muti Bussi Palace, San Martino ai Monti, Pamphili Palace, the Quirinal, Colonna Palace) assured his fame. Painter of the Roman *campagna*, and with Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), his exact contemporary, the most celebrated landscape artist of his generation, Dugbet frequently asked Roman artists of repute to paint in the figures in his works. He was also a very fine draftsman, although it is only in recent years that his personality has been described and his originality revealed (Chiarini, 1969).

Collected above all by the English, Dugbet remained known even though his name was applied indiscriminately to every vaguely classical landscape. Since 1962, with the article by Denys Sutton and the Bologna exhibition, the artist's work has been scrutinized with a more critical eye, as the recent exhibition at Kenwood (1980) shows. But it is primarily the research of Marie-Nicole Boisclair (1974, 1976) that has expanded our knowledge of Dugbet's life and our understanding of his stylistic development, and only with the publication of the Boisclair monograph and the catalogue raisonné of Dugbet's work (generously made available to the author for this catalogue) will the artist's rightful place in the history of seventeenth-century painting be restored.

There remains the question of Dugbet's nationality. The artist was born and died in Rome, without ever having been to France. By including him in a catalogue devoted to French painting, we have followed a tradition hardly more unusual than that by which Picasso is referred to as a Spanish painter even though he lived and worked primarily in France.



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26.

Landscape with Goatherd and His Flock

Canvas, 67 × 120 cm

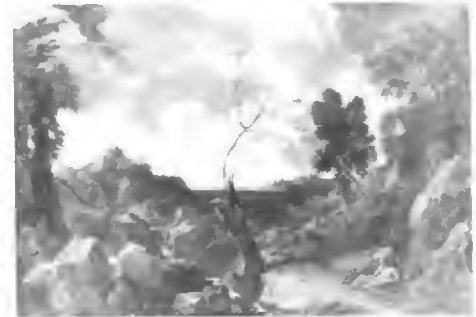
Provenance: Sotheby's, London, 8 Apr. 170, no. 80; [Julius Weitzner, London]; The Art Institute of Chicago, 1973.

Bibliography: *The Art Institute of Chicago Annual Report*, 1973-1974, p. 24, pl. p. 25; Boisclair, 1978 (I) pp. 61-62 (II) p. 11, no. 11.

The Art Institute of Chicago
Mrs. Albert J. Beveidge, Restricted Gift

In 1970 the painting was put up for public sale in London under the attribution "Master of the Silver Birch." It will be remembered that in 1950 Blunt had regrouped a number of landscapes that had certain features in common, among them the presence of "silver birches" (the trees are not in fact silver birches, which are extremely rare in Italy). This group of works was later correctly attributed to the young Gaspard Dughet by John Shearman (1960), although the sale catalogue did not immediately record this by now unanimously accepted identification (however, see Whitfield, 1979). In any case, the attribution to the Master of the Silver Birch places the painting among Dughet's early works, at the time he left Poussin's studio (1635) to establish his own.

The Chicago canvas is characteristic of Dughet's first phase: the wide, open horizon is blocked off by distant mountains; on a river bank in the valley below is a fortified town. A goatherd followed by his dog rounds up the flock. Only the red touches of the dog's collar, the goatherd's belt, and what appear to be flowers in the hair of another goatherd seated in the distance animate this brown and green landscape. At this date in his career, there is as yet no intimacy in his vision of the Roman compagna, a countryside observed with care but rearranged with a view to enhancing



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its beauty. Although this conception of landscape is not without precedent in Bologna and among the Northern artists in Rome, it makes its mark by the originality of its composition and the romantic tenderness of its vision.

27.

Landscape with Saint Jerome in the Desert

Canvas, 122 × 179.5 cm

Provenance: Charles Jennens collection, London, 1761; inherited by Penn Assheton Curzon in 1773, then by his son Richard William Penn, first count of Howe; in the Howe family, Gopsall House, F. Stambois; [Colnaghi, London, 1951]; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1952.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1865, no. 113; London, Royal Academy, 1885, no. 167.

Bibliography: Dodsley, 1761 (V) p. 77; Martyn, 1766 (I) p. 117; Mus. cat., 1955, p. 44 ("Francisque Millet"); Boisclair, 1978 (II) p. 25, no. 58.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Seth K. Sweetser Residuary Fund

Although during the nineteenth century in England the painting was attributed to "Gaspar" (and, admittedly, also to Poussin), it was considered by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts a work by Francisque Millet. The attribution to Dughet, which we suggested (verbally) several years ago, was accepted by Marie-Nicole Boisclair (1978). The Canadian scholar dates the painting to between 1638 and 1640, a dating we consider slightly early for a work of such monumental character. In any case, there is no doubt that although Dughet's composition is in reverse of Poussin's painting of the same subject (Prado), Dughet had Poussin's

canvas in mind when he executed this work. Poussin had painted his canvas a few years earlier for the Casón del Buen Retiro, near Madrid, and it is one of the rare paintings of that period in which he emphasized landscape.

Comparison of the two works points up several differences between them: Poussin focuses his composition on Saint Jerome, who kneels in prayer at center in front of a cross; nature is ordered and arranged around the saint. Dughet focuses his composition on a gnarled tree trunk; Saint Jerome and his mighty lion are enveloped by nature, engulfed by the rocks and trees. To Poussin's domesticated landscape, Dughet answers with a wild, elemental nature.

As Poussin's conception of landscape evolved and the role of nature, source of all life, became increasingly crucial, so too did Dughet's conception change. Nature became internalized, increasingly intimate, but without ever attaining the metaphysical dimension that gives a work such as Poussin's *Orion* (No. 94) a unique place in seventeenth-century landscape painting.

28.

The Cascatelle at Tivoli

Canvas, 137 × 100.5 cm

Provenance: Benoît-Louis Prévost (1735-1809) collection, Prévost sale, Paris, 8-12 Jan. 1810, no. 219 (with pendant) [acquired by Meunier]; purchased in Paris by William Beckford; Beckford collection, Fonthill Abbey (Wiltshire) 1810-1816; Richard Hart Davis (or Davies) collection, Bristol; Sir Philip John Miles, Leigh Court, near Bristol, 1822; Sir William Miles, 1875; Sir Philip Miles, 1882-1884; Christie's, London, 28 June 1884, no. 52 [acquired by Agnew]. Captain Albert B. (or R.) Brassey collection (?), London, 1940. [Thomas Harris, Chesterfield Gardens]; H. J. P. Bomford collection, 1944; Bomford sale, Laines, Aldbourne (Wiltshire), Sotheby's, London, 17 July 1946, no. 130. Acquired by Luis A. Ferré for the Museo de Arte de Ponce, 1961.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1822, no. 5; London, Royal Academy, 1875, no. 191; London, British Institution, 1882, no. 19; London, 1944, no. 8.

Bibliography: Young, 1822, no. 43 (with an engraving after the painting); Waagen, 1838 (II) p. 355; Waagen, 1854 (III) p. 185; Graves, 1921 (II) p. 344; Mus. cat. (Julius Held) 1965, p. 54, fig. 95; Boisclair, 1978 (II) no. 208.

Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico
The Luis A. Ferré Foundation

The painting together with its pendant, another view of the waterfalls at Tivoli, appeared in the Prévost sale, January 1810. The two paintings remained together in various



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collections until 1940. In 1838 (and again in 1854), Waagen described the two works at Leigh Court: "Gaspar Poussin.... Two views of Tivoli; large upright pictures, which are among his finest works, for the happily chosen points of view, the clearness and completion of all the parts." Waagen also mentions, from the same collection, the well-known *Elijah and the Angel*, now in the National Gallery, London (Kenwood exh. cat., 1980, no. 15, ill.), a painting he attributes unreservedly to Poussin, although it is today universally attributed to Dughet.

We have rediscovered and have been able to identify the pendant of the painting at Ponce (also engraved by John Young in 1822) as the painting in the Seattle Museum (see Inventory). Boisclair (1978) dates the canvas in Ponce to about 1665-1667 — that is, in the last years of Dughet's career. Dughet's paintings of this period have a certain audacity; he painted original views of the most famous sites, sites that would be copied over the next two centuries by successive generations of landscape artists flocking to Rome from all over Europe.

Tivoli dominates the verdant gorges of the Aniene; at center are two figures — fishermen, or goatherds tending the goats at left. Perhaps the figure at the right is Saint John, if the staff he holds is a cross. But above all, Dughet depicts the coolness of a valley still protected from the heat of the sun and the rich vegetation of a wild, unspoiled countryside with an immediacy, a direct sense of nature that is unusual in the seventeenth century and that foreshadows the painters of the Barbizon.

FRANÇOIS Guy

(before 1580, Le Puy; Le Puy 1650)

Were it not for the archival research of E. Gautherot (1927) and local scholars, and the work of Roberto Longhi, who focused on the Caravaggesque canvases that he thought might be attributed to him, Guy François would have been for the most part unknown until 1974, when an exhibition of the artist's work was organized at Le Puy and at Saint-Étienne by M. F. Pérez. The short monograph by Luigi Ficacci that was published in Italian six years later does not reveal much more about the artist's life than was previously known.

Born at Le Puy before 1580, Guy François was in Rome in 1608 (Bousquet, 1980). By 1613 he was back in France. Although he worked mostly at Le Puy, it is known that he was at Riom, Toulouse, and Montpellier. He drew up his will in 1650, the same year in which he died. It is his early stay in Rome that is of particular interest to us. He appears to have joined the school of the Francophile Saraceni (who was about the same age) and that of Guido Reni. However, we know of no documented works painted during his years in Rome; therefore, it is from signed canvases painted after his return to France that we must attempt to identify the works painted in Italy.

It is notable that two paintings generally attributed to Saraceni, the well-known Saint Cecilia in the Corsini Gallery, Rome, and the Holy Family, recently acquired by the museum in Brest, are attributed to Guy François by Benedict Nicolson (1979, pp. 49, 88).

29.

The Holy Family in Joseph's Workshop

Canvas, 113 × 84 cm

Provenance: Originates from the center of France ("Sud de l'Ar-dèche"); [de Haspe, Paris]; [Frederick Mont, New York]; Wadsworth Atheneum, 1963.

Exhibitions: Cleveland, 1971-1972, no. 60, ill.

Bibliography: *Bulletin of the Wadsworth Atheneum*, Spring 1964, p. 23 cover ill.; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 1, 1964, p. 109; *ibid.* no. 2, 1964, p. 206, pl. p. 209; Moir, 1967 (II) p. 135; Ottani Cavina, 1968, pp. 48-49, 103, no. 20, fig. 82, colorpl. IX; Nicolson, 1970, p. 312; Rosenberg, 1971 (I) pp. 106-107, fig. 3 (detail); Nicolson, 1972, p. 117; Spear, 1972, p. 158; Volpe, 1972, pp. 73-74; Enggass, 1973, p. 461; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 36, 75 (Italian ed.) pp. 36, 77 (French ed.); Nicolson, 1974 (I) p. 612, n. 25; Pérez, Le Puy-Saint-Étienne (exh. cat.) 1974, pp. 25-26; Pérez, 1974, p. 472, n. 6; [Rosenberg] Brest (exh. cat.) Paris, 1974-1975, p. 21; Spear, 1975, pp. 160-161, ill., and p. 229; Cuzin and Rosenberg, 1978, pp. 193-194, 196, nn. 23-24, fig. 19; Nicolson, 1979, p. 87; Pettex Sabarot, 1979, p. 424; Ficacci, 1980,



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pp. 17, 26, n. 15, fig. 5; Pallucchini, 1981 (I) p. 93 (II) pl. 249; Pérez, 1981, p. 81; Rosenberg, in press.

Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford

The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection

We are aware that by exhibiting this picture with the attribution to Guy François and not Carlo Saraceni, we are invoking the wrath of our Italian colleagues, none of whom is willing to entertain the possibility that the Hartford painting (no less than that in the Corsini Gallery, Rome) is not by the great Venetian painter. Nonetheless, several facts support our argument. The first is of relatively little importance: the painting was discovered about twenty years ago south of the Ardèche, in a region bordering Guy François's native Auvergne. De Haspe, who discovered the picture, immediately attributed the work to Guy François. It should also be noted that the attribution to Saraceni has worried several specialists in seventeenth-century Italian painting. To quote only one example, Moir (1967) favors Leclerc over Saraceni. Also, those who accept the attribution to Saraceni, from Spear (Cleveland exh. cat., 1971-1972), to Ottani Cavina (1968), to Nicolson (1974), to Pallucchini (1981), draw attention to the French character of the work, suggesting in turn the names of the Pensionante, Cecco da Caravaggio (who was long believed to be French), Leclerc, Tassel, and La Tour. "The rotund faces of the *putti* and unblemished complexion of the Virgin ... as well as the intense red of her robe, the clarity of the colors, and the simplified forms establish an unusual accord between Caravaggesque naturalism — so apparent in the carefully observed and rendered carpenter's tools — and an ideal classicism, which undoubtedly in part attracted French artists to Saraceni" (Spear). It is therefore not surprising that from then on, French art historians who have studied Caravaggism, from Brejon de

Lavergnée to Cuzin, from Pérez to Pettex Sabarot, should each in turn have tried to attribute the Hartford painting to Guy François. Each time we have seen the work, we ourselves have been uneasy about the attribution to Saraceni; nor is the generally accepted date of 1615 convincing. Absent from this coarse, somewhat flashy picture is that suppleness of linear sequence so dear to the Italian master, that noble emotion appropriate to Saraceni; rather, there is a feeling of everyday reality conceived by a very different mind.

The conception of the painting is striking. It is maintained by a two-dimensional space: the alignment of elements parallel to the picture plane and a certain linear purity, as distinct from Saraceni, who took great care to illuminate his works in a soft, velvety light and to bathe his compositions in a warm, sensitive atmosphere. One may conjecture that a reluctance to attribute the Hartford painting to Guy François is due to the refinement and elegance of the painting, two characteristics never achieved in the pictures by Guy François painted after his return to Auvergne. However, a closer look at the *Doubting of Saint Thomas* (Church of Saint-Laurent, Le Puy) and the *Virgin and Child with Two Saints* (1615, on loan to the Le Puy Museum) reveals these same features: a similarity to Saraceni in certain elements, but with a definite sense of emphatic linearity and a composition in which all the figures — even those in the background — are brought up to the picture plane in a kind of frieze.

Finally, it may be noted that there are similarities between the head of the fruit vendor in the Detroit painting by the Pensionante del Saraceni (No. 80) and that of Saint Joseph and between the straw baskets in the two canvases. These similarities made it very tempting to regard the paintings executed by the Pensionante as works painted in Rome by Guy François; nevertheless, we ourselves believe they come from the same studio but are the works of two different artists.

LA HYRE Laurent de

(1606 Paris; Paris 1656)

The son of an obscure painter, Laurent de La Hyre studied at Fontainebleau before entering the studio of Georges Lallemant. His early works, still Mannerist in style, already show his penchant for luminous colors and transparent atmospheres. During the first phase of his varied career, marked by the commission of two Mays for Notre-Dame, Saint Peter Healing the Sick with His Shadow (1635) and the Conversion of Saint Paul (1637), La Hyre defined and then elaborated upon his highly original, elegant, and graceful style. From 1641, La Hyre turned toward a colder, more reserved style, intentionally classical and restrained, with a serenity that deepened with time.



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A founding member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1648, La Hyre accorded within his œuvre an increasingly important place to landscape. A cultivated artist, La Hyre was interested both in music and mathematics; he was a prolific painter, a subtle colorist, a careful draftsman, and an engraver of delicacy and precision. He is the most illustrious representative of Parisian Atticism, which flourished between 1630 and 1650, parallel to the Baroque style of Vouet and his followers. A monograph by Jacques Thuillier and the author is in preparation on this exceptionally charming, poetic, and refined artist.

30.

Two Nymphs Bathing

Canvas (octagonal), 130 × 115 cm

Signed in capital letters and dated on stone at left: L. DE LA HIRE.
// F. 1636.

Provenance: Doumet-Adanson collection (this collection formed the so-called Balaine Museum in the Allier); Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 7-8 Dec. 1923, no. 113: "La Hire. Two bathers. Painting on canvas, in octagonal form, signed at the lower left on a stone, dated 1656 [sic]. H. 1,32; L. 1,12" (800 francs). Paris art market, 1954-1958 [Higgins, then Leegenhoeck]; Dorotheum, Vienna, 11-13 Sept. 1958, no. 52, pl. 8, of sale 541 (no buyer); acquired by Louis A. Ferré for the Museo de Arte de Ponce, 1963.

Exhibitions: Paris, Bernheim, 1954, no. 32.

Bibliography: Mus. cat. (Julius Held) 1965, p. 95, fig. 93; Rosenberg and Thuillier, 1974, p. 308, n. 6.

Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico
The Luis A. Ferré Foundation

The theme of this painting has occasionally been interpreted as Diana Discovering the Pregnancy of Callisto, but Diana wears no crescent, and Callisto, whose transgression is scarcely noticeable, shows no sign of surprise. Can one not therefore regard this painting simply as a representation of two nymphs or perhaps two bathers? Without completely rejecting this interpretation, it is, in our opinion, one that does not account for the gesture of the woman at the left, who appears to be reaching for the object of her companion's attention. Whatever the case may be, thematic identification is further complicated by the poor condition of the work, which has suffered from surface abrasion and excessive repainting.

The date 1636 (and not 1656), which can be read quite clearly on the block of stone at the left, is very telling: having just completed the powerful and severe *Saint Peter Healing the Sick with His Shadow* for Notre-Dame (1635), La Hyre now approached, in a totally different spirit, a secular theme. The two bathers standing out from the trees, the restrained sensuousness, the silver trees only sparsely adorned with leaves, and the gray and flesh-colored harmony of the composition are intimations of the versatile talents of this artist, who was then barely thirty years old. The rare, delicate poetry of the work is an indication that by this time the lesson and spirit of the school of Fontainebleau were far from having been obliterated.

31.

Cyrus Announcing to Araspas that Panthea Has Obtained His Pardon

Canvas, 144 × 104 cm

Provenance: German art market; [Ettore Viancini, Venice]; [Gilberto Algranti, Milan]; [Silvano Lodi and Bruno Meissner, Campione d'Italia and Zurich, 1976]; The Art Institute of Chicago, 1976.

Bibliography: Scudéry, 1646, p. 51; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Mar. 1977, p. 49, fig. 192; *The Art Institute of Chicago Annual Report*, 1976-1977, p. 27, colorpl. p. 89; Mus. cat. (100 Masterpieces), 1978, pp. 56-57, no. 19, colorpl.

The Art Institute of Chicago
Major Acquisitions Centennial Fund

We would like to propose that this canvas is an illustration of a scene from *Pantibée*, a tragedy in five acts by François Tristan L'Hermite (1601-1655), which was staged for the first time in 1638 and published the following year. Panthea, wife of Abradatas, king of Susa, is taken prisoner by Cyrus, king of Persia, and entrusted into the care of Araspas, his



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confidant. Araspas falls desperately in love with Panthea and declares his passion for her. Panthea, offended, asks to be placed in the care of Cyrus, who is outraged by the conduct of his trusted friend. Despite her treatment at the hands of Araspas, Panthea nevertheless pleads for his pardon; she also obtains an alliance between her husband, Abradatas, and Cyrus. During the battle against Cesus, king of Lydia, Abradatas is killed. Panthea, rather than marry Araspas, takes her own life.

The frontispiece of Tristan's work is an engraving after La Hyre executed by Pierre Daret (1604-1675; Weigert, 1954, pp. 253-254, no. 40). The frontispiece clearly represents act 2, scene 3, during which Panthea rejects Araspas, who has just declared his love for her. The legend under Daret's engraving specifies that the engraving is a copy of a painting by La Hyre. We know of two other compositions with similar format by La Hyre that very probably also illustrate this little-known tragedy by Tristan L'Hermite: first the painting at Chicago, and second the canvas exhibited with the Troubat-Ledoux collection in the Montluçon Museum (Rosenberg, 1972, pp. 305-306, n. 12, fig. 5; there is a superb preparatory *modello* in a private collection, Paris, and a copy of the principal motif in the form of a drawing, attributed to Jacques Blanchard, Dresden, C.637). The Montluçon canvas (and of course, its sketch) illustrates act 2, scene 1, in which the prisoner, Panthea, is brought before Cyrus. The present canvas illustrates act 3, scene 8, where Cyrus announces to Araspas that Panthea has obtained his pardon.

Moreover, I expressly forbid you ever to say
a word to her that might offend her.
Alas, Sir, I never intended to offend her;
the gods are my witness that I am the offended.

A well-known work substantially reinforces our analysis.

We refer to Georges de Scudéry's *Cabinet*, published in 1646, in which one finds (p. 51) the following:

The story of Panthea in various paintings [italics added] by La Hyre:

I confess, excellent painter,
that Araspas was insolent
to dare to love a Queen.
But if this Princess had the same attractions
as those you depict in her portraits
she was unjust in her hatred;
For what heart on seeing her charms
could not but have adored them?

Certainly, this identification does not resolve all the questions raised by the Chicago canvas. How many works illustrating the play did La Hyre paint? For whom were they painted? For Tristan, who, as he confirms (*Le Page disgracié*, 1946 ed., p. 71), was himself a painter? Or for Henri II of Lorraine, duc de Guise (1614-1664), Tristan's protector, who was, like Tristan himself, a libertine and a *précieux*? While it is obvious that the series of canvases was painted before 1639, the date of Daret's engraving, can one assume that they are contemporaneous with the first presentation of the play in 1638? Is it not possible, as the style of the paintings suggests, that the play, written one or two years earlier, was known to La Hyre, who then illustrated it beginning in 1636 or 1637.

What is important, in any case, is La Hyre's love of literature, his desire to transpose stories into a picturesque language. In a range of brilliant reds, yellows, and duck greens, the three heroes, bathed in the light of a setting sun, stand in front of an architectural background that opens onto a military camp bedecked with white and pale pink flags under a vast and cloudy sky. The sumptuous turbans of Cyrus and Araspas remind us that we are in the Orient, while the naked breasts of Panthea give to the painting an atmosphere of sensual reverie.

Thus, in addition to his historical and religious works and at the same time as his allegorical and mythological canvases (which were already entirely classical in their inspiration), La Hyre, as an enlightened witness of a period of literary ferment, still had time for the courtly tale, the pleasures of the imagination, and poetic escape.

32.

Job Restored to Prosperity

Canvas, 132 × 101 cm

Signed and dated on block of stone at left: *L. De La Hire. in. & F. 1648.*



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Provenance: Sir Samson Gideon collection, Belvedere House, 1766 (Martyn: "Rebecca bringing presents to Laban"); Sir Culling Eardley collection, Belvedere House, 1857 (Waagen: "Laurent de la Hire. Belisarius receiving alms from a woman"); Eardley sale, Christie's, London, 30 June 1860, no. 5 (points out that painting is dated 1648; acquired by Rutley for 60 guineas, 18 shillings). Lord Forester collection, 1862. Probably marquis of Cholmondeley collection, Houghton Hall; Christie's, London, 16 Mar. 1945, no. 115 ("Rebecca bringing Gifts to Laban. Signed and dated 1648. 51½ in. by 39½ in. From Houghton Hall Collection. Exhibited at the British Institution, 1862" [acquired by "Smith" for 178 guineas 10]). Private collection, France; Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 21 May 1952, no. 39, pl. II: "Old man receiving alms near the ruins of a palace (Belisarius?). Signed lower left and dated 1648. Canvas, H. 1.32 m; L. 1 m" (sold for 400 francs); [Julius Weitzner, New York, 1953]; Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., 1953; The Chrysler Museum, 1971.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1862, no. 30; Portland ..., 1956-1957, no. 56, pl. p. 103; Provincetown, 1958, no. 34; Fort Worth-Tulsa-Austin, 1962-1963, p. 40, ill. p. 18; New York, 1967, no. 29, ill.: Nashville, 1977, no. 11, colorpl.

Bibliography: Dodsley, 1761 (I) p. 273; Martyn, 1766 (I) p. 13; Waagen, 1857 (IV) (supp.) p. 282; Graves, 1913 (I) p. 271; Blunt, 1953, 1957 ed., p. 268, n. 132 (1973 ed., p. 426, no. 73); Rosenberg and Thuillier, 1974, p. 308, n. 6; E. M. Zlafran, "French Masterpieces," *Chrysler Museum at Norfolk [Bulletin]*, June 1976, p. 3, ill.

The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk

The provenance of the painting in the Chrysler Museum is difficult to verify, and the one we have given above may be subject to revision. There are in fact two (?) early copies of the work, one in the collection in 1956 (and still in 1962?) of Curt Benedict, London, and the other (the same one?) put up for sale in Paris, 23 June 1964 (no. 31, "Belisarius: an old man receiving alms near the ruins of a palace." Canvas, H. 128 cm; W. 96 cm), which came, according to the catalogue, from the sale of the Sébastiani collection 24-28 November

1851 (probably no. 169, "Subject from the Old Testament, composition of several figures and animals," without dimensions). Could this have been the picture in the collection of Vincent Donjeux, "dealer in paintings and curiosities" (Paris sale, 29 April 1793, no. 320, "An historical subject. An old man to whom a young woman has just given a jewel and offered a ram whilst four other people bring him a sheep: the background is finished by architecture and landscape. H. 47 × W. 36. Canvas.")?

The provenance of the work is all the more difficult to establish because the subject has been incorrectly identified since the eighteenth century. It has been seen in turn as Rebecca bringing gifts to Laban (Lord Forester, 1862; London sale, 1945), as Belisarius (Waagen, 1857; Bertina Suida-Manning, Portland exh. cat., 1956-1957), and finally (here correctly), as Job (Blunt, 1953; New York exh. cat., 1967). Jennifer Montagu has noted (in writing) that the woman at center does not give alms, but rather gives Job a gold ring; and indeed, in the Book of Job (42: 1-12), the Lord, having severely tried Job, restores him to prosperity: "Then Job answered the Lord, and said, I know that thou canst do everything.... The Lord said to Eliphaz the Temanite.... Therefore take unto you now seven bullocks and seven rams, and go to my servant Job... [and] the Lord also accepted Job. ... Also the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before. ... All his bretheren, and all his sisters... comforted him over all the evil that the Lord had brought upon him: every man also gave him a piece of money, and everyone an earring of gold. So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than his beginning...."

A founding member of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1648 (the same year as the date of the present work), La Hyre was highly regarded not only by connoisseurs of art but also by scholars and such theoreticians as Bosse and Desargues. His knowledge of linear perspective is evident in the colonnade, the architectural ruins overgrown with vegetation, and the portico that encloses the scene. La Hyre never tired of painting blocks of moss-covered stone; sharp, protruding angles; splintered beams; and smooth columns whose weathered marble affirms their ancient origins. Always he worked with great care, preferring refined, clear colors, searching for rare nuances, crystalline, translucent atmospheres. But the art of his late years is much sobered, becomes measured and calm.

In *Job*, La Hyre gives testament to his knowledge of the Bible. The story of Job has only rarely been portrayed. One must, however, remember the painting by La Tour at the Epinal Museum, executed at the same time as (or just before) La Hyre's canvas. But while La Tour chose to paint the episode in which Job is rebuked by his wife (2: 9-10: "Dost thou still retain thine integrity? curse God and die. But he said unto her... shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?") — admittedly a dramatic and



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profoundly moving episode — La Hyre preferred to depict a more peaceful scene, a scene that he treats with nobility and deep serenity.

33.

Allegory of Music

Canvas, 94 × 136.5 cm

Signed in capital letters and dated, lower left: *DE LA HIRE*, // .P. 1649.

Provenance: Residence (rue d'Angoulmois in the Marais) of Gédéon Tallemant (1613-1668), Paris (cousin of Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux, author of the *Historiettes*, Maître des Requêtes, Intendant d'Orléans, then of Guyenne) (?). Marchioness Conyngham collection, sold after her death, Christie's, London, 8 May 1908, no. 87: "Music, signed and dated 1640. 40½ in. by 56 in."; acquired for 50 guineas 8.0 by "Petit" (?); [Combe and Brimo, Laroussilhe, 1950]; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950.

Exhibitions: Washington-Toledo-New York, 1960-1961 (supp.) no. 171 (exhibited New York only).

Bibliography: Dezallier d'Argenville, 1762 ed. (IV) p. 66 (?); *Mémoires inédits*, ed. L. Dussieux et al., 1854 (I) p. 107 (?); Mariette, 1856 ed. (III) pp. 48-49 (?); Bonnaffé, 1884, p. 300 (?); Rousseau, 1954, p. 25, ill.; Mus. cat. (Sterling) 1955, pp. 87-89, ill.; Pincherle, 1959, p. 86, color ill.; Thomas, 1961, p. 227, fig. 3, p. 226; Augarde and Thuillier, 1962, pp. 18, 22, colorpl. p. 23; Auzas, 1968, pp. 11-12, fig. 17; Mirimonde, 1968, pp. 310-311, nn. 39-43, 323, fig. 36, p. 316; New York, Wildenstein (exh. cat.) 1968-1969, under no. 19; Rosenberg and Thuillier, 1970, p. 27; Rosenberg and Thuillier, 1974, pp. 302, 307, n. 1; Mirimonde, 1975, pp. 22-23, fig. 2; Brejon de Lavergnée, 1976, p. 11; Mus. cat., Toledo, 1976, p. 90; P. [Rosenberg] in *Orléans* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1977-1978, pp. 48-49; Richardson, ed., 1979, no. 45; Mus. cat. (Bactjer) 1980 (I) p. 103 (III) ill. p. 485; Hibbard, 1980, p. 325, fig. 583; Mus. cat., Orléans (O'Neill) 1981, pp. 85-86.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Charles B. Curtis Fund

Allegory of Music is without doubt among La Hyre's masterpieces. Its early provenance is, however, largely unverifiable, and it is difficult to list the works that were grouped with it in its original setting. Three early texts refer to two series of paintings by La Hyre entitled the *Liberal Arts*. Mariette (1856 ed. [III] pp. 48-49), transcribing from a biography on La Hyre by his son Philippe, writes: "In the Marais, in a house which used to belong to M. Tallemant, Maître des Requêtes, there are seven paintings representing the seven liberal arts that decorate a room; the figures are not full-length portraits; they are life-size and are accompanied by children. The scenes are adorned with architecture." Guillet de Saint-Georges (*Mémoires inédits*, 1854 ed. [I] p. 107) confirms the existence of "the seven liberal arts with their attributes (painted) for M. Tallemant, Maître des Requêtes. The life-size figures are painted only from the waist up, and he [La Hyre] has portrayed them with several children and extensive architecture." Dezallier d'Argenville (1762 ed. [IV] p. 66), for his part, points out in the list of principal works by La Hyre: "In Rouen... seven large paintings representing the seven liberal arts, with the backgrounds enriched with architecture."

We know today of ten paintings that are perhaps related to the Tallemant and Rouen series: *Music*, 1649, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; *Astronomy*, 1649, Museum, Orléans; *Geometry*, 1649, private collection, France; *Geometry*, 1649, Museum of Art, Toledo; *Rhetoric*, 1650, Bürgenstock Castle, Switzerland; *Dialectic*, or *Philosophy*, 1650, Bürgenstock Castle, Switzerland; *Grammar*, 1650, National Gallery, London; *Grammar*, 1650, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; *Arithmetic*, 1650, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; *Architecture*, 1650, Hannema collection, Heino, the Netherlands.

The texts and paintings listed above suggest to us the following: Certain compositions were accompanied by "children." In 1937 (*Les Chefs-d'œuvre de l'art français*, exh. cat., Paris, no. 80), Charles Sterling proposed that the two putti musicians in the Musée Magnin, Dijon, originally framed the painting *Music*, in the Metropolitan Museum. (Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée has kindly pointed out that the two putti were seized during the Revolution from the collection of the duc de Brissac and sold by Le Noir in 1793 [Louvre archives, 1DD6, p. 162].) The photographic reconstruction proposed by Mirimonde (1968, 1975) fully confirms this hypothesis.

It has also been established that the New York canvas is slightly cut away on both sides and particularly at the bottom, since the other works in the group — including those at Dijon — measure between 102 and 104 centimeters in height, rather than 94 centimeters. If the New York canvas is the same as the one in the London sale of 1908 (see Provenance), it must have been reduced to its present dimensions sometime after this date. However, the London

painting could just as well be another version, today lost, of the New York canvas in which the date 1650 would have read 1640.

The existence of a canvas called *Architecture* is inexplicable. Architecture is not in fact one of the seven liberal arts. Perhaps La Hyre needed an eighth subject to complete the decoration of a room. Or perhaps the painting was part of another group by La Hyre that has since disappeared and that perhaps consisted of images of Painting, Drawing, and Engraving.

Finally, certain paintings — the most exquisite ones — are dated 1649, others 1650; in two cases, there are two identical versions of the same painting. It is conceivable that La Hyre painted two series of the *Liberal Arts*, one — the first one — for Gédéon Tallemant, cousin of the celebrated author of the *Historiettes*, and the other for a collector in Rouen. We should add that certain paintings of the second series (Baltimore, Toledo) seem to us be somewhat inferior to those of the first group. We would like to propose that these works are by Louis de La Hyre (1629-1653), Laurent's younger brother, whose one painting of certain attribution is in the Rouen Museum (Rosenberg, 1966, no. 39).

La Hyre, as we have already mentioned, was a great lover of music. It is therefore not surprising that he gave particular care to the precise representation of the instruments, which have been identified by Mirimonde (1968, 1975). The musician holds a superb angelica, "an instrument analogous to a large theorbo, but strung with single strings." On the table are a lute, a violin, and two flutes. Behind the open score, in front of an organ, is a type of oboe. The musical scores have been closely studied by Laurence Libin (Metropolitan Museum, archives of the Department of European Paintings, 1975).

Rarely has La Hyre shown such skill both in the composition of his work — simultaneously elegant and geometric — and the juxtaposition of colors. The broad range of browns and warm reds is punctuated by the pale blue of the scarf that falls over the breast of Music. A bird, perched on the back of her gold-threaded chair, accompanies the player as she tunes her instrument. *Allegory of Music* is a masterpiece, restrained in its poetry and refined in its elegance.

34. ***

The Kiss of Peace and Justice

Canvas, 55 × 76 cm

Signed and dated on stone slab, lower right: *L. De La Hyre//in. et F. 1654.*

Provenance: Evrard Titon du Tillet (1677-1762) collection, rue de



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Montreuil (faubourg Saint-Antoine), Paris. Randon de Boisset collection, Receveur Général des Finances (for another painting from this collection, see No. 45), Paris sale, 27 Feb. (postponed to 25 Mar.) 1777, no. 170: "Peace and Justice, allegorical subject in a beautiful landscape decorated with architecture; the figures are 8 *pouces* high. This painting on canvas is 19 *pouces* high by 2 *pieds* 3 *pouces* wide" (acquired by "Joulin" [the dealer Joullain]). On 1 Dec. 1796 Richard Codman, an American dealer living in Paris, bought (for his brother John Codman; 1755-1803 ?) a painting of this subject from the dealer Le Brun (Le Brun inventory, no. 5): "Two paintings: one by Laurent de La Hire representing Peace and Justice; the other by Nicolas Loir, supporter of Poussin. Both from the Cabinet de Sabrand [sic] 10 louis" (document held by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston; the painting is not mentioned in the Sabran sale of 5 Mar. 1784; for Codman, see Bizardel, 1978, pp. 43-45); lent by Francis Codman to the Boston Athenaeum annual exhibition of 1832. Christie's, London, 27 Nov. 1970, no. 52, ill. (Lady Nathan collection); [Cyril Humphris, London]; The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1971.

Exhibitions: Boston, Athenaeum, 1832, no. 140; Cleveland, 1972, no. 53 (no cat., see *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum*, Jan. 1972).

Bibliography: Dezallier d'Argenville *fiis*, 1752 ed., p. 242, 1757 ed., p. 291; Courajod, 1873 (I) p. CCCXXII; Mireur, 1911 (III) p. 517 (mentions sale of 1777); Pigler, 1956 (I) p. 209 (mentions sale of 1777); *Christie's Review of the Year*, 1970-1971, p. 45, ill.; "The Year in Review," *The Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art*, Jan. 1972, p. 42, no. 53, ill. p. 12; Rosenberg and Thuillier, 1974, pp. 302-308, figs. 1, 3, 9 (details), colorpl. pp. 300-301; Mus. cat., 1978, p. 173, ill.; Johnson, 1980, p. 12, fig. 4; Perkins and Gavin, 1980, p. 89; Thuillier, 1980, p. 749; Schloder, forthcoming, n. 53.

The Cleveland Museum of Art
John L. Severance Fund

Although we do not know for whom La Hyre executed this charming easel painting (of which the Cleveland Museum also owns a drawn copy, attributed to Gérard de Laïresse), we do know, as a result of a description by Dezallier d'Argenville *fiis* ("Peace and Justice embracing in a beautiful landscape"), that in the eighteenth century it belonged to Evrard Titon du Tillet, a highly spirited man who dedicated his life and his fortune to building an

allegorical monument to the glory of the *grand siècle*, the *Parnasse François* (Judith Colton, 1979). We have also recently discovered that the Cleveland painting was acquired in 1796 by Richard Codman, an American living in Paris who had at his Hôtel de Créquy a notable collection of paintings, among which was Teniers's *Peasants Smoking and Drinking* (also in Cleveland; Mus. cat., 1978, p. 155, ill.). There can be no doubt that the subject of the work is the Kiss of Peace and Justice, as La Hyre took care to indicate in the inscription engraved in capital letters on the stone at center, behind the two protagonists: *Iusticia et Pax // osculatae sunt*. The subject, taken from Psalm 85: 8-10, is one that was frequently depicted, from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century (including works by Tiepolo, Lanfranco, and Pompeo Batoni). La Hyre was not the first seventeenth-century French artist to treat the subject, having been preceded by Nicolas Prévost, an artist in service to Richelieu (Schloder, in press).

Why did La Hyre choose this subject? We know he was a religious man and two years before his death, when he was already gravely ill, his paintings were infused with religious meaning: God accords happiness on earth to those who fear and respect his law. It is more likely, however, that the work is an allusion to the wars of the Fronde, which in 1653 seemed on the verge of ending in a climate of general reconciliation, to the benefit of Mazarin.

Toward the end of his life, La Hyre devoted himself increasingly to landscape; he rendered the finest nuances of the morning light, the haze of distant horizons, the dappled effect of light and shadow on foliage and on rock. Although the figure of Peace (who with a torch sets fire to the discarded armor) and the figure of Justice are executed with characteristic refinement and delicacy of coloration, the artist focused on the lush foliage, the fresh water streaming from the fountain — nature in its sumptuous diversity. La Hyre, an artist drawn to grace and beauty rather than to tragedy, offers, above all, a sense of appeasement, tranquillity, and spiritual peace.

LA TOUR Georges de

(1593 Vic-sur-Seille; Lunéville 1652)

La Tour, a baker's son, was born in the duchy of Lorraine, which was at the time still independent. He is first mentioned in 1616, when he was still in his native village of Vic. At the age of twenty-four, he married into a wealthy family, and by 1620 he had established himself as a master at Lunéville and employed his first apprentice. In 1623, *La Tour* sold a picture to Henri II, duc de Lorraine, who in the following year bought a second work from him, "an image of Saint Peter." *La Tour* is regularly mentioned as being at Lunéville, although a recent publication has documented his presence in Paris in 1639. In that year, he was designated *Peintre Ordinaire du Roi*, a title that he probably received under the aegis of Louis XIII, a great lover of art, for whom he executed Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene (the horizontal version, known today from numerous copies, one of which is at Detroit, another at Kansas City [see Inventory]). Working at Lunéville, *La Tour* received six important commissions (1644, 1645, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651) from the municipality intended for the collection of the maréchal de La Ferté, governor of Lorraine. Various court cases of the period indicate that the artist had a violent and arrogant nature and pretensions to the nobility. In 1652 he died suddenly, leaving two daughters and a son, also a painter.

Nothing is known of *La Tour's* training (although the role of Bellange has probably been underestimated), but it should be noted that during *La Tour's* formative years, Alphonse de Rambervilliers, amateur artist, art collector, and poet, was in Vic, and Saint Pierre Fourier (1565-1640) was in Lunéville. We are hardly better informed about *La Tour's* travels. We believe he was in Rome between 1610 and 1616, although English scholars generally are of the opinion that he traveled to the Netherlands.

We shall not again review the history of the rediscovery of *La Tour* (archival works, Alexandre Joly; identification of works, Hermann Voss, 1915; *Les Peintres de la réalité*, exh. cat., 1934; monograph, F. G. Pariset, 1948). It should, however, be pointed out that since the *La Tour* exhibition of 1972 and the monographs by Jacques Thuillier (1973), Pierre Rosenberg and François Macé de Lépinay (1973), and Benedict Nicolson and Christopher Wright (1974), all published in several languages, the number of publications on the painter (including those in Russian, Japanese [Tanaka], and Rumanian [Stoichită]) has multiplied. It has thus been impossible for us to cite all the articles written on each of the six paintings in the exhibition. The most recent publications do not, on the whole, offer any new details. It should, however, be noted that the journey to Paris in 1639 has been documented (Antoine, 1979), and we can today add to the list of early collectors of works by *La Tour* the names of Richelieu (Mrs. Honor Levi, in press) Claude de Bullion (Grodecki, 1978), and perhaps Boulle (Samoyault, 1979). To update the information in the three primary monographs, the following should also be stated: the date that is barely decipherable on the Settling of Scores (*Лову*) has, in our opinion, been read incorrectly as 1634 (Vsevolozhskaya and Linnik, 1975, pp. 56-59)

and as 1641 or 1642 (Zolotov, 1979); Saint Philip, from the series of the Apostles, at Albi, is now in the Chrysler Museum (see Inventory); the Musicians' Brawl is in the J. Paul Getty Museum (No. 37); the Cheat with the Ace of Clubs is at Fort Worth (No. 38); the Magdalen with the Flickering Flame is at Los Angeles (see Inventory); the Magdalen at the Mirror is at Washington (see Inventory); the Magdalen with Two Flames is in the Metropolitan Museum (see Inventory); the upright version of Saint Sebastian from the Church of Bois-Anzeray now hangs in the Grande Galerie of the Louvre. One new picture, the Pea Eaters, has recently come to light and has been acquired by the Berlin Museum (Bologna, 1975).

Problems of attribution and chronology (only two paintings are signed and dated, one at Cleveland [1645; No. 40] and one at Nantes [1650]) continue to elicit discussion among art historians. The originality of *La Tour*, however, is today undeniable: the artist, with a total œuvre of only about forty compositions, has become one of the most popular painters of the seventeenth century. Rarely has an artist, forgotten for over two centuries, been more deserving of the brilliant posthumous fame accorded him.

35.

Old Man

Canvas, 91 × 69.5 cm

36.

Old Woman

Canvas, 91.5 × 60.5 cm

Provenance: The two paintings in the E. Holzscheiter collection, Meilen, Switzerland, were bought on the Swiss art market during the 1930s, recognized [by Kurt Meissner and Herbert Bier] c. 1950; [Vitale Bloch, 1954]; [Galerie les Tourettes, Paris, 1955]; [Knoedler, New York, 1955]; Roscoe and Margaret Oakes, San Francisco, 1956; on loan from the Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Foundation to the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, 1956-1974, then to the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1974-1975; The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1975.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1956-1957, nos. 158, 159; Cleveland, 1971-1972, nos. 40, 41, ill.; Paris, 1972, nos. 1, 2, ill.; Denver - New York - Minneapolis, 1978-1979, nos. 25, 26.

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1972, see *La Tour* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1972, p. 119 (to be supplemented in Pierre Rosenberg and Marion C. Stewart, *European Paintings in The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. I: French Painting to 1825* [forthcoming]). Essential bibliography since 1972 (the many references to the two paintings following their exhibition at Cleveland, 1971-1972, and Paris, 1972,



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are not cited here; for the most important see Kellogg Smith, 1979); Blunt, 1972, pp. 516-525, ill. (detail); Pariset, 1973, p. 63, ill.; Rosenberg and Macé de Lépinay, 1973, nos. 2, 3, ill.; Thuillier, 1973, nos. 2, 3, ill.; Nicolson and Wright, 1974, nos. 61, 62, ill.; Bologna, 1975, pp. 433-440 (with detail); Spear, 1975, pp. 120-122, ill., and p. 228; Schleier, 1976, unpaginated; Bordeaux, 1977, pp. 36, 38, ill.; Kellogg Smith, 1979, pp. 288-293; Nicolson, 1979, p. 65; Lee, 1980, p. 215, figs. 6, 7, p. 218.

The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection, 75.2.9 and 75.2.10

Published for the first time in 1954 by Vitale Bloch and Giuseppe Fiocco and exhibited two years later in Rome by Charles Sterling, these two pictures came to the San Francisco Museum in 1956. Their attribution to La Tour was not accepted without protest; near unanimity has been reached, however, following the La Tour exhibition in Paris, 1972 (for remaining dissenters, see Nicolson and Wright). There is a general consensus of opinion that they were painted at the beginning of La Tour's career, Nicolson and Wright going so far as to suggest a dating of about 1618-1619 — that is, in the years following La Tour's marriage to Diane Le Cerf and preceding the artist's move to Lunéville. In any case, a comparison with the *Settling of Scores*, in Lvov, and the *Pea Eaters*, recently acquired by Berlin, is imperative.

Two related problems regarding these paintings have been posed by art historians. The first concerns the two subjects, and the second concerns their costumes: are they from Lorraine or are they from Italy? Martha Kellogg Smith (1979, in a summary of a thesis submitted in 1975 to the University of Washington, Seattle), relying on the hypothesis put forward by Blunt (1972) and Grossmann (1973), appears to have found a successful solution. The two figures, she suggests, are characters from the theater. She supports



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her argument with several French engravings that date from the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. The old woman represents Alison, the *haranguese*, the shrewish, domineering wife; the old man represents *père dindon*, the passive, abused husband. The costumes could perhaps derive from the prints but could as well be those worn by actors in theatrical farces. Martha Kellogg Smith suggests further that in order to paint such pictures, which have their roots in popular tradition and street theater, it was not necessary for La Tour to be acquainted with Italy or with Caravaggio (this would not, in our opinion, preclude the possibility that a trip to Italy was in fact made). The possible connection between the works of La Tour and the theater is further explored in such works as the *Musicians' Brawl* (No. 37), the *Cheat with the Ace of Clubs* (No. 38), and the *Fortune Teller* (No. 39), which may have close connections with the commedia dell'arte.

This analysis does not of course explain everything. The strong lighting that outlines the two figures and emphasizes the shadows may indeed be that of footlights, but why the diverging vanishing lines, the illogical breaking up of the background? The reduced dimensions of these full-length figures is also rather puzzling; could it be, without recourse to Northern precedents, that such compositions derive from the engravings of popular figures by Jacques Callot? As for the refined handling, it is not unlikely that the *Pietà* by Bellange (Hermitage) — that artist's only definite attribution (Vsevolozhskaya and Linnik, 1975, pls. 46-48) — had something to do with it. Admittedly a night piece, the *Pietà* offers a comparable working of pigment and elaboration of colors.

Although La Tour's skilled execution, the rapid and nervous brushstrokes, the broken accents that enhance the nuancing, and the refinement in the use of color have been

greatly admired, perhaps not enough emphasis has been placed on the dialogue that exists between the two characters. A dialogue of considerable cruelty, in which the contempt and derision of one character is answered by the cowering humility of the other, it has been described by La Tour without compassion and without sentimentality.

37.

The Musicians' Brawl

Canvas, 94.5 × 142 cm (enlarged in height by a few centimeters)

Provenance: Cited in inventory of Lord Trevor collection in 1928 as a work by Caravaggio; Lord Taylor sale, Christie's, London, 8 Dec. 1972, no. 99, color ill. (380,000 guineas); The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1972.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1972, no. 8, ill.; Tokyo-Kyoto, 1975, no. 29.

Bibliography: For the brief bibliography published before 1972, see *La Tour* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1972, p. 135. For essential bibliography since 1972, see Rosenberg and Macé de Lépinay, 1973, no. 21, ill.; Thuillier, 1973, no. 22, ill.; Nicolson and Wright, 1974, no. 56, ill.; Bordeaux, 1975, pp. 81-82, colorpl. pp. 82-83; Schleier, 1976, unpaginated; Nicolson, 1979, p. 65.

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

Although the painting has been known since 1958 and was seen by such art historians as Pariset and Charles Sterling, it was not published and reproduced until 1971 (Nicolson and Wright). Exhibited for the first time at the La Tour exhibition in Paris, 1972, it was unanimously accepted as an original and was acquired the same year at public sale by the J. Paul Getty Museum. The existence of the composition was in fact known, however, from an early copy at the Chambry Museum that was recognized by Sterling in 1934 as being after Georges de La Tour (*Les Peintres de la réalité*, exh. cat.). And since 1935, a copy in pastel of the head of the violinist at right, attributed to Maurice Quentin de La Tour, has been known (Ronot, 1935). Finally, we know of a relatively modern copy of the two musicians at right (art market, Spain).

The picture poses problems of date and subject. It is generally agreed that the work was executed between 1625 and 1630. Nicolson and Wright rely on a canvas by Hendrick Ter Brugghen, dated 1627. If the influence of Ter Brugghen is obvious (Nicolson and Wright, 1974, fig. 45), enough to constitute for some scholars formal evidence of La Tour's journey to the Netherlands, the influence of Bellange (of whom we lose track after 1624), who about 1615 made an engraving of the same subject, seems no less important.

What is the theme of the painting? A half-blind organ-



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grinder armed with a knife and a wheel crank protects himself against the advances of a musician with a recorder tucked into his belt, who in one hand holds a shawn and in the other a stone. To the right, next to a musette player, a smiling violinist turns away from the scene and appears to address the viewer. The dazed, toothless old woman at left leans on her stick, raising her tear-filled eyes to heaven in supplication. We tend to support the hypothesis that the picture illustrates a moralizing proverb rather than a theatrical scene: Wretched is he who can find no one more wretched than himself. The figures at the extreme left and the extreme right, who appear separate from the main action, express contradictory sentiments, as though drawing lessons from the hideous scene.

The composition is unusual. The five protagonists, seen from the waist up and with their heads at the same level, form a frieze that stands out against a dark background. Each figure is painted essentially in isolation, and only the obsessive rhythm of the contenders' arms links together what would otherwise be simply a juxtaposition of motifs. The cold colors, ranging from lemon yellow to copper brown, are astonishing. The apparent monochrome of the work is softened by luminous accents: the feather in the violinist's beret, the hair, the beard, a fingernail, the blade of the knife.

The execution of the work is masterful, La Tour using his brush as if it were a pencil. The unreal, abstract quality of the light is offset by the precision of the work's detail and the edge of cruelty in its brutal realism. The *Musicians' Brawl*, although it seems to depict a world very different from that of La Tour's tender nocturnal religious scenes, manifests — in the language of everyday reality — an understanding of humanity that undeniably emerges from the perceptions of the same mind. The tragic old woman at the extreme left — in Nicolson's words, the kind of madwoman Géricault would later paint — would alone suffice to place La Tour among the geniuses of his time.

The Cheat with the Ace of Clubs

Canvas 96.5 × 154.9 cm

Provenance: Probably collection of comte Isaac Pictet (1746-1823) in Reposoir, his residence in Prégny, Switzerland; collection of Mme A. Morier (née Pictet), until Jan. 1981; Kimbell Art Museum, 1981.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1972, no. 13, ill.

Bibliography: For the brief bibliography before 1972, see *La Tour* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1972, p. 153. Since 1972, the painting has been mentioned by all those who have studied the *Cheat with the Ace of Diamonds*, in the Louvre. Rosenberg and Macé de Lépinay, 1973, no. 24, ill.; Thuillier, 1973, no. 28, ill.; Nicolson and Wright, 1974, no. 50, ill.; Nicolson, 1979, p. 65.

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth

The picture is still largely unknown; before the La Tour exhibition of 1972, it had been reproduced in only one publication (Pariset, 1948) and mentioned only four times (first by Sterling, *Les Peintres de la réalité*, exh. cat., 1934); it was, however, hailed as a major work at the 1972 exhibition. It has recently been scrupulously restored by John Brealey, and one might say that only now can it be studied and admired in its "original" state, since retouching had in effect distorted the work. Because the present entry was written before completion of the restoration, some of our conclusions may be subject to revision.

The *Cheat with the Ace of Clubs* of Fort Worth may be compared with the *Cheat with the Ace of Diamonds*, acquired in 1972 by the Louvre, where it now hangs in the Grande Galerie. At first glance, the two works appear identical, but on closer examination the differences between them become more pronounced. The painting in the Louvre is signed; the canvas at Fort Worth is not. The tonality of the Texas painting is much lighter, as can be seen in the clothing, the coins, the playing cards, and the pearls. Nor are the colors in the two paintings identical (e.g., the clothing worn by the servant and the young card player). There are variations in the placement of the protagonists in relation to each other, and their expressions are not exactly alike.

These differences raise three questions: Which of the two versions was painted earlier? What are the dates of the two pictures? And how many years separate them? Authors of recent monographs on La Tour differ on these three points. Thuillier and the author (and Blunt, 1972, p. 523, as well as John Brealey, in writing, 1981) believe the Fort Worth version precedes that in the Louvre, whereas Nicolson and Wright are of the opposite opinion; the two English scholars date the Fort Worth picture about 1620-1621 and that in the Louvre about 1619-1620 (see also Bologna, 1975, p. 438, no.



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22). Thuillier places the Louvre painting after the *Fortune Teller* (No. 39), which he dates from 1636 to 1639 and which he considers to be slightly later than the Fort Worth canvas (see also Thuillier, 1973, p. 98). We ourselves would like to propose an even greater chronological separation between the two works. The elaborate treatment, the nervous brushwork, the somewhat external elegance of the Fort Worth picture recall the *Musicians' Brawl* (No. 37), despite its much greater mastery of composition, whereas the buildup of large masses, the atmosphere of greater seriousness, the increased brutality of the lighting in the Louvre version prefigure the dated nocturnal scenes (among them, No. 40 [1645]). Differences in opinion about dates would, of course, be of little consequence did they not imply differences in conception regarding La Tour's spiritual journey (Spear, 1976; Rosenberg, 1976). Nicolson and Wright (supported by Spear, 1976) believe further that the Fort Worth picture may be the pendant to the New York *Fortune Teller* (which would therefore have to have been cut down at the left), a hypothesis all the more convincing because the *Cheat* and the *Fortune Teller* have in fact often been associated, no doubt following Caravaggio's example. It would seem more probable, however, on the basis of style and technique, that if there is a pendant to the *Fortune Teller*, it is the version in the Louvre.

There is nothing ambiguous about the painting's theme, as its title is quite explicit; it should, however, be noted that a second theme is also alluded to — that of the Prodigal Son, who is tempted and seduced by easy living.

But what is most compelling about the Fort Worth painting is the undercurrent of tension between the protagonists, manifested in the extraordinary interplay of looks — the sidelong glances of the servant and her mistress, the gaze of the cheat who seems to address himself to us and to be separate from the scene, the dreamy look of the gambler. These glances and the ballet of the hands orchestrate the composition. The creamy quality of the servant's turban, the highlights in the cheat's hair, the plumed caps, and the necklaces are all evidence of the

painter's technical skill. The woman with the pearls, her face oval like an ostrich egg, the maid with her snub nose, the elegant cheat with his fine mustache are all unforgettable, heralds of escape and harbingers of dreams.

39.

The Fortune Teller

Canvas, 102 × 123.5 cm (probably cut on left side of canvas and enlarged in height by a few centimeters)
Signed, upper right: G. De La Tour Fecit Luneuilla Lotbar:

Provenance: The picture has been known since 1879, when it was mentioned in the deed of division of property on the succession of M. Lemonnier de Lorient (the deed is still in the possession of the family). It was valued at 250 francs by the expert M. George, rue Lafitte, Paris. Around 1917-1918, the canvas belonged to General de Gastines, son of M. de Lorient's daughter, and was kept at de la Denisière, de Gastines's country seat in the Sarthe. In 1921, it was transferred to the neighboring property of la Vagotière (municipality of Degré). In 1942, M. Jacques Celier, then a prisoner of war, grandson of Mme de Gastines, who had known the picture for about a quarter of a century, received the book by Paul Jamot devoted to La Tour, which had just been published (M. Celier deserves the credit for having rediscovered and reorganized most of the information published in Rosenberg, 1981, concerning the provenance of the picture). As soon as he returned from captivity, M. Celier went with his father to see the picture again and tried to convince Colonel de Gastines, son of the general, of its importance. M. Celier alerted Dom de Laborde of the neighboring Abbey of Solesmes, who knew La Tour's work well and who in turn informed the Louvre. When General de Gastines died, in 1948, a struggle began for the acquisition of the painting, which had been left to the general's five children; the contenders were the Louvre, represented by both M. René Huyghe, chief curator of the Department of Paintings, and M. David David-Weill, president of the Trustees of the National Museums, and Georges Wildenstein. On 3 Aug. 1949, Wildenstein won and bought the work for 7.5 million francs. [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, between 1949 and 1960]. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1960.

Exhibitions: Washington-Toledo-New York, 1960-1961, no. 168 (supp.) (exhibited New York only); New York, 1970, no. 292; Boston, 1970, p. 63; Paris, 1972, no. 12, ill.; Leningrad-Moscow, 1975, no. 47, color ill.

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1972, see *La Tour* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1972, p. 149. Since 1972, the painting has been reproduced innumerable times; it is no exaggeration to claim that it is one of the three or four most popular 17th-century French paintings. Rosenberg and Macé de Lépinay, 1973, no. 26, ill.; Thuillier, 1973, no. 29, ill.; Nicolson and Wright, 1974, no. 48, ill.; Nicolson, 1979, p. 65; Mus. cat. (Baetjer) 1980 (I) p. 103 (III) ill. p. 483; Hibbard, 1980, p. 302, fig. 542 (color); Wright and de Marly, 1980, pp. 22-24, ill.; Brealey and Meyers, 1981, pp. 424-425; Rosenberg, 1981, pp. 487-488; Sewell, 1981, pp. 549-550.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Rogers Fund



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Masterpieces sometimes fuel controversy, sometimes scandal; the *Fortune Teller*, in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is, in a manner of speaking, privileged in having been the object of both. In 1960, extensive press coverage of, and controversy surrounding, the departure of the painting from France led to the appearance before the National Assembly of André Malraux, then minister of cultural affairs, in an attempt to justify the granting of the export license. Another more recent scandal occurred following the publication of an article by Christopher Wright and Diane de Marly (*The Connoisseur*, September 1980, pp. 22-24) which attempted to prove that the painting was a fake, barely older than the last war. (Diane de Marly had already challenged the work in 1970 [*The Burlington Magazine*, pp. 388-390], and at that time her hypothesis was considered indefensible.) The arguments of Wright and de Marly, supported by the evidence of a mysterious Corsican restorer, concern style (weakness of perspective, inconsistency of certain details), technique (use of materials unknown in the seventeenth century), and the absurdity of the gypsy's costume. These arguments, however, apparently based on the image of La Tour as a painter of everyday reality and as a careful recorder of the fashions of his age, collapse when it is known that the painting is mentioned in 1879 in a deed of succession (see Provenance; Rosenberg, *The Burlington Magazine*, 1981). And indeed, who would have thought before 1879, when the artist was totally unknown, of painting a fake La Tour?

There are, however, some positive aspects to this recent scandal. For one thing, it resulted in a thorough technical study of the painting by John Brealey and Pieter Meyers (*The Burlington Magazine*, 1981), which confirmed that it had been slightly extended at the top; that the signature, reinforced during restoration, was originally at the edge of the canvas; that the words *amor* and *fide* are written on the chain across the central figure's chest. Above all, it was proved beyond a doubt that the word *merde* (which has caused so much ink to

flow) was the work of a malicious restorer who had cleverly adjusted the decorative flourishes on the shawl of the beautiful black-haired gypsy. (These were removed along with surface grime and discolored varnish when the painting was cleaned by John Brealey in November 1981.)

But we must proceed and take a careful look at the painting itself. A young, elegantly attired simpleton, engrossed in the tales of a fortune teller, is robbed by her three beautiful accomplices. It is a classic theme, made fashionable by Caravaggio, and subsequently taken up and modified by the Caravaggesque painters. In the catalogue of the 1977 exhibition at the Louvre devoted to Caravaggio's *Fortune Teller* (Louvre), Jean-Pierre Cuzin explores these modifications and shows how, from the time of Caravaggio, the theme of the Fortune Teller was associated with that of the Cheat. Does this association apply to La Tour, and does it suggest that the painting is the pendant to either the *Cheat with the Ace of Clubs* (No. 38) or the *Cheat with the Ace of Diamonds* (Louvre)? The theory is not a new one. It was advanced by Vitale Bloch, the first author to mention the *Fortune Teller* in a published work (1950), and taken up in 1974 by Nicolson and Wright, who argue that the New York painting is the pendant to the canvas at Fort Worth (No. 38). For this hypothesis to be correct, we would have to agree that the canvas has been reduced at the left, which is in fact entirely probable (Nicolson and Wright, fig. 16). But although the scale of the figures in both pictures is similar and although their themes are closely allied, it must still be acknowledged that the figures are considerably closer to the picture plane in one (the *Fortune Teller*) than in the other, and that only one (again, the Metropolitan canvas) is signed. We ourselves (together with John Brealey) believe that if one of the canvases is in fact a pendant to the *Fortune Teller*, it is rather the version in the Louvre.

Two very different datings for the *Fortune Teller* have been proposed. A dating to between 1620 and 1625 is favored by Sterling, Pariset, Blunt, Bologna, and Nicolson and Wright (who specify 1620-1621). Others believe the painting cannot have been made earlier than 1635 and must, in any case, be dated later than the *Musicians' Brawl* (No. 37). Clarity of composition, a handling of great refinement, and a supple use of the brush would tend to support the later date. Without going so far as to date the painting between 1636 and 1639, as suggested by Thuillier (1973), we still, as in 1973, feel that the New York canvas is not the work of a beginner and must have been painted between 1632 and about 1635.

One last point should be made: the signature, written in such a beautiful hand that it reminds us of Bellange's, is accompanied by the name Lunéville. Does this tell us that he executed the work at a time when he was not living at Lunéville, where he had lived more or less continuously since 1620 (Wright, 1977, p. 7)? It is an unlikely hypothesis,

for he would then have put beside his signature the name of his native village, Vic, and not that of his place of residence. It is more likely that the picture was painted at Lunéville and was intended for a collector who lived elsewhere.

As in all the great daylight scenes by La Tour, the movement of hands and eyes plays an essential role in focusing the attention of the viewer and in forming spatial construction. The four black eyes fixed on the victim, who is at once overconfident and reserved, the ballet of the circling hands, the attention to detail (the contrast between jet and pearl, the variety in headdress and coiffure, the fascination with texture) serve to draw the viewer into the painting. Each face has a history that is unique: the toothless, wrinkled old woman, the thief at the far left with eyes downcast, the extraordinary black-haired gypsy with parted lips — one of the purest profiles in the history of painting — and her accomplice, "as pale and mysterious as the moon" (Nicolson), whose oval face is outlined by the elegantly arranged scarf knotted under her chin. A wide range of reds — from salmon to lilac, from pink to carmine — with a few patches of white, duck-egg blue, and ocher bear witness to the painter as a virtuoso colorist.

And yet, despite some realistic sections, such as the head of the old gypsy, nothing in the work is a faithful representation of life in Lorraine in the seventeenth century; nothing in the painting is common or trivial, as is the case in popular art or genre scenes. La Tour imagines the action, creates and clothes his characters, and generally directs the scene as if he were a man of the theater. He paints a parable of innocence betrayed and youth deceived — always with elegance and refinement, without humor and without irony. There is no movement to disturb the heavy silence, the static atmosphere. It is a moment fixed in time, in a world suspended — disquieting, haunting, crystallized into a reality of eternal significance.

40. ***

Saint Peter Repentant

Canvas, 114.5 × 95 cm

Signed and dated, upper right: *Georg' de la Tour Inve' et Pin//1645*.

Provenance: Alleyn's College of God's Gift, Dulwich, until 1857 (?); Reverend William Lucas Chafy, until 1878; descendants of Reverend Chafy, Bath, until May 1951; [Marshall Spink, London]; [Knoedler, New York]; The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1951.

Exhibitions: Cleveland, 1958, no. 59, ill.; Cleveland, 1971-1972, no. 39, ill.; Paris, 1972, no. 23, ill.

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1972, see *La Tour* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1972, p. 191. The painting has been mentioned in all works on



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La Tour since 1972, but nothing essentially new has been discovered. Rosenberg and Macé de Lépinay, 1973, no. 45, ill.; Thuillier, 1973, no. 51, ill.; Nicolson and Wright, 1974, no. 35, ill.; Nicolson, 1979, p. 65.

The Cleveland Museum of Art
Gift of Hanna Fund

The picture is not as well known as it deserves to be. The reason is simple. No photograph, whether in black-and-white or in color, does it justice or enables us to appreciate the nuances of its coloring or the refinement of its execution. Nevertheless, the work is of great importance: not only is it signed (an infrequent occurrence with La Tour — of the six La Tours in the exhibition, only the present one and the *Fortune Teller* are signed), but it is also dated. The date 1645, clearly visible at the top right, is five years earlier than that on the *Repentance of Saint Peter* at Nantes, the only other La Tour painting that is both signed and dated (the date on the *Settling of Scores*, Lvov, remains, in our view, indecipherable).

Like many paintings by La Tour, the canvas was extended at the top. The artist tended to cover the whole surface of the canvas with his figures — a practice taken from the Caravaggio of the 1600s. Saint Peter is illuminated by the light of a conical lantern decorated with rosettes. The light source radiates from the ground, striking the saint's bare legs and giving his homespun robe an almost transparent glow; yet the red girdle, the saint's hands joined together in prayer, and above all, his distraught, bewildered face appear to be illuminated by a second light source that comes from the top left, silhouetting the saint's form to create a rigorous mass. Two more details are worth noting: the cock and the vine leaves, which are among the few animal and vegetable

elements in the painter's œuvre. The cock calls for no explanation, as its presence is frequent in representations of the Repentance of Saint Peter. The vine leaves, as pointed out by Richard Spear (Cleveland exh. cat., 1971-1972), are an allusion to the last meeting between Jesus and his apostles: "I am the vine, ye are the branches.... If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch and is withered" (John 15:5-6).

There is a striking contrast between the daytime canvases, in which the subject is secular, and the candle-lit paintings, in which the subject is religious and the use of light diminishes the importance of detail in favor of an overall image. The range of colors — pink, red, slate, and chestnut — is sober, which serves to enhance the composition's simplicity, strength, and emotional power. In silent darkness Saint Peter sits alone; his clasped hands, furrowed brow, staring eyes, half-open mouth, the tears flowing down his hollow cheeks testify to the anguish of this man who has three times betrayed his master.

La Tour, following the example of Caravaggio, knew well how to portray inner emotion, how to depict the loneliness of a man at once repentant, in despair, yet filled with hope.

LE BRUN Charles

(1619 Paris; Paris 1690)

Charles Le Brun entered the studio of Perrier at an early age and proceeded to that of Vouet. He quickly established himself and in 1642 went to Rome with Poussin. After a short stay at Lyons, he returned in 1646 to Paris. There he received his first important religious commissions (among them, two Mays for Notre-Dame, 1647 and 1651) and created his first decorative works (the Galerie d'Hercule in the Hôtel Lambert and the decoration of the château de Vaux-le-Vicomte for Nicolas Fouquet, 1658-1661). Despite the scandal surrounding Fouquet and his subsequent arrest, Le Brun's title Premier Peintre du Roi was confirmed in 1664. Henceforth, Le Brun enjoyed the support of Louis XIV and reigned supreme over French artistic life. He served as director of both the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and the Gobelins factory and embellished the royal palaces to the glory of the king (Galerie d'Apollon, Louvre; the Escalier des Ambassadeurs, the Galerie des Glaces, the Salon de la Guerre, and the Salon de la Paix, Versailles). On the death in 1683 of Colbert, his protector, Le Brun was cast aside by Louvois, who succeeded Colbert, in favor of his lifelong rival, Pierre Mignard. From that time on, Le Brun devoted himself to the execution of medium-size religious pictures, rejuvenating the tradition of Poussin.

Although admired and imitated throughout Europe during his lifetime, Le Brun's work later diminished in popularity, became the

object of contempt, and eventually sank into oblivion. Not until the 1963 *Le Brun* exhibition at Versailles, directed by Jennifer Montagu and Jacques Thuillier, would *Le Brun's* genius as organizer and decorateur, his talent as an extremely prolific draftsman (3,000 sheets in the Louvre alone), and his merits as a painter be fully grasped. From his first attempts in the lyrical style of Vouet to the contemplative canvases of his later years, *Le Brun*, a kind of Rubens à la française, pursued an audacious career — among the most well conceived in the history of painting.

41.

Venus Clipping Cupid's Wings

Canvas (oval), 115 × 102.5 cm

Provenance: Painted for Nicolas Fouquet (1615-1680); hung either over the mantelpiece in the Salon d'Hercule or in the private apartments of Mme Fouquet at the château de Vaux-le-Vicomte. Prince de Conti collection, Paris sale, 8 Apr. 1777, no. 573; acquired for 3,003 livres by Nicolas Beaujon (1718-1786) through the expert Rémy. [Central Picture Galleries, New York, 1967]; acquired by Luis A. Ferré for the Museo de Arte de Ponce, 1967.

Exhibitions: New York, 1967, no. 42, ill.

Bibliography: Félibien [c. 1660-1661] pp. 24-31 (last letter); Jouin, 1889, pp. 118-119, 528 (cites the composition); Merson, 1895, pp. 95-96 (wrongly supposes the painting is still at Vaux-le-Vicomte); Chatelain, 1905, p. 393 and n. 2 (as lost); Masson, 1937, pp. 101, 200 (cites the composition); Cuzin and Rosenberg, 1974, pp. 4-9, fig. 1; Henderson, 1974, p. 478.

Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico
The Luis A. Ferré Foundation

A description in the Bibliothèque Nationale of the château de Vaux-le-Vicomte written by André Félibien shortly before 1661, and published by Henry Jouin in 1889, enabled us in 1974 to reestablish the attribution and provenance of the work. The description, in the form of three letters (only two of which have been found), carefully outlines the history of the château, whose decoration was entrusted to *Le Brun* by Nicolas Fouquet, the ostentatious Surintendant des Finances under Louis XIV. Félibien describes and explores the symbolism of the painting now at Ponce. The Goddess of Beauty clips the wings of Cupid in order that "he will always stay with her, a domesticated Cupid, forbidden to wield his weapon beyond the house." The Goddess of Marriage, who "holds a lighted torch," and the Goddess of Wisdom also participate in the scene. The golden apple (on which the words "for the fairest" appear to have been originally written) "has been painted in so that the goddess at right is not mistaken for Venus — at least not the one the poets have



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described as rising from the sea — or if it is Venus, it is the Theban Venus, the celestial and modest Aphrodite." In other words, we should recognize in this chaste Venus a portrait of Mme Fouquet and see the work as an allegory of conjugal love and marital fidelity.

In 1651 Fouquet had married Marie-Madeleine de Castille, his second wife. Ten years later, the powerful Surintendant fell from favor. It must therefore have been between 1651 and 1661 that *Le Brun* painted the present picture. But did he paint it between 1658 and 1661, when he was living at Vaux and working almost exclusively on the decoration of the château (as the style of the two preparatory sketches, published in 1974, would lead us to believe), or was it painted earlier? The fact that Fouquet was acquainted with *Le Brun* at least as early as 1655 also lends support to the argument that the Ponce canvas is nearer to the date of Fouquet's marriage than to that of his dismissal.

The fate of the painting after 1661 is not known. One might speculate that it was kept by Mme Fouquet in memory of happier times. At any rate, in 1763 an engraving in reverse, with the unambiguous title *Domesticated Love* (*L'Amour fixé*), was made by Antoine Marcenay de Guy (1724-1811; Wildenstein, 1965, p. 27, no. 159, ill.), and in 1777 the painting formed part of the celebrated collection of the prince de Conti. It was then acquired by another great collector, Nicolas Beaujon, who lived in what is today the Palais de l'Élysée. Together with the great Detroit *Purification* (see Inventory), painted in Rome in 1645, it is the most important *Le Brun* painting in a public collection in the United States. That the work is in fact the one which belonged to Fouquet is confirmed by an important detail. The Goddess of Marriage holds in her right arm a cornucopia on top of which is poised a squirrel. In old French, *fouquet*

means “squirrel,” and the Surintendant chose the little animal as his emblem. A copy of the Ponce painting was sold recently (Christie’s, London, 17 December 1981, no. 151, ill.) under the strange attribution to A. F. Callet (resold this time under the name of Lebrun, Christie’s, London, 17 February 1982, n° 45).

But the work is not only a portrait of the lovely Mme Fouquet, whose brown tresses had already been praised by La Fontaine (*Songe de Vaux*, *Œuvres diverses*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, N.R.F., 1968, p. 107). Nor is it only a mythological canvas with allegorical references. Rather, it encompasses both these elements, while at the same time it is the work of a shrewd court painter who knew well how to flatter his patron. With its rhythmic grace of movement, simplicity of composition, and refinement of coloring, the painting is a convincing example of that measured art of unaffected sophistication and elegance that won for Le Brun the general admiration that was accorded him in his lifetime.

LECLERC Jean

(c. 1587-1588 Nancy; Nancy 1633)

Although Leclerc’s reputation has been restored since the association of his name with that of Georges de La Tour, little is known about the life of this artist from Lorraine. In 1617 he worked in the atelier of Saraceni, many of whose paintings he engraved and whom he accompanied to Venice in 1619. Following Saraceni’s death in 1620, Leclerc completed his master’s unfinished paintings before returning to Nancy at the end of 1621 (or possibly at the beginning of 1622). In 1621 he was named Cbevalier de Saint-Marc, an exceptional honor. The date of his arrival in Rome is not known, although Félibien speaks of a stay of twenty years. Nor do we know of many works that can with certainty be attributed to him. It is tempting, nevertheless, despite Félibien’s warning that Leclerc “painted works that were taken for those of his master,” to try to define his style, as evidenced in such canvases as the Repentance of Saint Peter (Corsini Gallery, Florence), the Night Concert (Prodigal Son [?], Munich), and those he completed in and around Venice, some of which had been started by Saraceni (the Shipwreck, Doge Enrico Dandolo Exhorted to the Crusade, and the Annunciation). Leclerc generally overburdens his compositions. He uses irregular forms: his figures are given contorted and disjointed poses, and the folds of their garments are overly complex. His angular, nervous style and his complex luminous effects should facilitate a definition of his artistic personality, which certainly merits serious study.



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42.

Saint Stephen Mourned by Gamaliel and Nicodemus

Canvas, 113 × 155 cm

Provenance: Collection of Cardinal Jacopo Sannes, Rome (d. 1621) (perhaps for his chapel at S. Silvestro al Quirinale) (?); collection of Clelia Sannes (d. 1663), wife of Emilio Orsini de Cavaliere (or Cavalliere) (?); three paintings depicting the stoning of Saint Stephen and one entitled *S. Stefano Lapidato in Terra*, the last one with dimensions very similar to those of the Boston canvas and which could be confused with it, are mentioned (without the name of an artist) in Anna Maria Sannes’s inventory, which is dated from 4 Apr. 1724 (A.S.R. 30 Not. Cap. Joseph Paulinus Officio 13 vol. 52) (written communication from Scott Schaefer, along with the basic information concerning the possible provenance of the Boston painting); collection of Uldorico Orsini de Cavalieri, Cavalieri Palace (formerly Sannes Palace), until 1802 (?). Collection of Pietro Camuccini (1760-1833, restorer, art dealer, and brother of the painter Vincenzo); collection of Camuccini’s son Giovanni Battista until 1856; acquired by the fourth duke of Northumberland in 1856; collection of dukes of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle, until 1978; [Agnew, 1978]; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1978.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1857, no. 40; Newcastle upon Tyne, 1887, no. 818; Newcastle upon Tyne, 1963, no. 59.

Bibliography: Waagen, 1857 (IV) (supp.) p. 471; [Murray] 1864, p. 204; Graves, 1913 (I) p. 15 (V) p. 227; Crombie, 1978 (II) p. 510; Hirschel, 1978, p. 166, ill. p. 167; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Apr. 1979, p. 36, fig. 178; Nicolson, 1979, p. 88, pl. 23; Spear, 1979, p. 321.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

M. Theresa B. Hopkins and Charles Potter Kling Funds

The painting is not well known. It was certainly in the collection of the dukes of Northumberland: everything leads us to believe that the fourth duke acquired it in 1856 as part

of the collection of Pietro Camuccini, although Platner does not mention it in his description of that collection (1842 [III] pp. 269-273). Scott Schaefer (see Provenance) has suggested that it was commissioned in 1615 by Cardinal Jacopo Sannesì, whose patron saint was Saint Stephen; this historical account is not, however, fully substantiated, and further documentation is needed before the hypothesis can be accepted. Furthermore, there was no painter's name associated with the archival discoveries so generously communicated to us.

During the nineteenth century, the painting quite understandably bore an attribution to Caravaggio. The name of Saraceni was proposed, albeit with caution, when the work was exhibited at Newcastle upon Tyne in 1963. This attribution was accepted, no less hesitantly, by Agnew's in 1978 and is accepted today by Crombie (1978), Scott Schaefer, and Erich Schleier (in writing). Benedict Nicolson, who reproduced the painting in his posthumously published work on the international Caravaggesque movement, agreed with this attribution, qualifying it however as "U" ("uncertain"). Hirschel (1978) compares it to the work of Feti, while Spear (1979) does not reject the possibility that the work was painted in Italy by the young Ter Brugghen. Volpe (in writing) has proposed the name of Savonuzzi. And Anna Ottani Cavina will soon publish the work (in the *Zeri Festschrift*) as a painting by the Pensionante del Saraceni (see Nos. 80, 81), an attribution that allows for a French connection. For our part, it was with great hesitation that we selected the painting for the present exhibition, but we remain committed to an attribution to Leclerc.

The canvases of Saraceni's French followers (the Pensionante del Saraceni, Guy François, and Jean Leclerc) were for a long time attributed to Saraceni himself. This was the case both with the *Night Concert* (Munich) and the *Repentance of Saint Peter* (Corsini Gallery, Florence), which are now by general consent attributed to Leclerc. The attribution of the Boston canvas to Saraceni seems equally untenable. Admittedly, certain details, such as the turban and the sleeve with winding folds, are typically Saracenian, but the folds of Saint Stephen's dalmatic, his agonized face, and his fingers hanging poignantly as if broken would hardly be unusual for Leclerc. The composition also is not uncharacteristic: powerful but not masterful, with a jerky, uneven style and complex, subtle lighting, it is at once brutal and harshly expressive.

There remains the question of the date of the work. Should further documentation confirm the provenance proposed by Scott Schaefer, it would not be unlikely that Leclerc painted it in Rome before 1619. On the basis of style, we would have preferred to regard it as a work executed in Nancy, even though the present state of research does not permit us to establish an exact date during the 1622-1633 Lorraine period, when the artist might in fact have painted

it. In any event, the question of attribution remains an intriguing one, although the stunning power of the work alone demands its exhibition and indeed calls for comparison to French works with known attributions.

LE MAIRE Jean

(1598 Dammartin; Gaillon 1659)

Despite the articles by Blunt (1943, 1959; see also Busiri Vici, 1965, 1973; Salerno, 1976) and the archival documents published by Bousquet (1980), there is little known about Jean Le Maire, called Gros Le Maire to distinguish him from his brother Pierre (1612?-1688), called Petit Le Maire. In fact, the biographies of the two artists, both nicknamed Le Maire-Poussin, are confused, the one with the other, and often their works as well. Jean Le Maire, in Rome between 1624 (possibly as early as 1613) and 1630, returned to Paris in 1638, the year he was appointed Garde du Cabinet de Peinture by the king. After a brief return to Rome in 1642, he settled in Paris and in Gaillon. The painted views with which he decorated many Paris residences are now destroyed. As a specialist in architectural paintings — he particularly liked ancient buildings, which he enlivened with figures in classical drapery, in the manner of Stella — Le Maire was widely acclaimed during his lifetime, and it is surprising that his work is now forgotten. His paintings are easily recognizable for the quality of their light, the refinement of their color, and the sureness of their perspective.

43.

Achilles Discovered Among the Daughters of Lycomedes

Canvas, 155.5 × 128.5 cm

Provenance: Collection of G. (?) R. Bailey, if the old label on the back of the canvas is to be believed. Anonymous sale, Christie's, London, 30 Jan. 1948, no. 60 [bought back (?) by Leger for 36 guineas]; anonymous sale, Christie's, London, 9 July 1948, no. 170; acquired [through Mallet for 36 guineas 15] by William Randolph Hearst; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1949.

Exhibitions: Pasadena Art Institute, 1950, and Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1951, *Nineteenth and Twentieth Century French Paintings* (no cat.).

Bibliography: Mus. cat. (P. Wescher) 1954, p. 59, no. 58, pl. 58 ("Pierre le Maire"); Pigler, 1956 (II) p. 265; Blunt, 1959, p. 443, fig. 27, p. 442.

Los Angeles County Museum of Art
William Randolph Hearst Collection



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The story from Ovid is well known: In order to find Achilles, who has hidden dressed as a woman among the daughters of Lycomedes, king of Scyros, Ulysses presents the daughters with a sword and a basket filled with jewels. Achilles naturally gives himself away by choosing the sword, while the young women are interested only in the jewels.

Le Maire sets the scene beneath a vaulted portico, the archway of which is decorated with a bas-relief showing a Judgment of Paris (one that was inspired by the engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi). Temple façades, a basin, a triumphal arch, and a pyramid decorate the middle ground and background. The protagonists, clothed in the antique style, occupy the foreground of the painting. The theme of the Daughters of Lycomedes was not uncommon in the seventeenth century: Poussin treated the subject twice (Boston, Richmond; see Inventory), sometime after Le Maire's final return to France in 1642. Was it at such a late date, or was it rather during his long stay in Italy that Le Maire conceived the Los Angeles painting? It is difficult to know with certainty, but we tend to support the second hypothesis, since the painter's experience of Rome is so much in evidence.

The painter is in this work interested primarily in perspective: the colonnade — half in sunlight, half in shade — divides the painting into two sections. The geometric design of the paved floor, the sharply defined edges of the steps, and the high pedestals of the Corinthian columns accentuate the slope of the ground and give depth to the composition. The originality of the painting and the inventiveness of the artist lie in the combining of technical skill with imaginative archaeological reconstruction.

LE NAIN Antoine

(c. 1600-1610 Laon; Paris 1648)

After the magnificent Le Nain exhibition at the Grand Palais organized by Jacques Thuillier in 1978-1979, it became possible, with certain exceptions, to separate the work of the Le Nain brothers into three distinct groups. It seems appropriate, therefore, to devote a biography to each artist. Although the three brothers lived together (until the deaths of the two older ones in 1648), signed their works without first names or even an initial, and indeed executed some works together (fewer, however, than have been suggested), the paintings that today bear the Le Nain name differ too much in quality and feeling for us not to attempt to attribute to each brother his own artistic personality.

We do not know the exact date of Antoine's birth. It was fixed arbitrarily at 1588 until the Le Nain exhibition, when Thuillier (correctly, in our opinion) proposed a date between 1600 and 1610. In any case, Antoine, certainly the oldest of the three brothers, left Laon in 1629, when his request to become Maitre in the guild of painters of Saint-Germain-des-Prés was granted. In 1632, Antoine signed a contract with the Paris magistrates to paint a group portrait of the municipality. He participated in the first assembly of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture on 1 March 1648. He died barely three months later and was buried 26 May, two days after his brother Louis.

Although one group of the Le Nain paintings can with certainty be attributed (those of Mathieu), it is still not possible to determine which of the two remaining groups can be ascribed to Antoine and which to Louis.

Although du Bail and Leleu valued Antoine for "the verisimilitude of his portraits, which were painted from life" and for the "foreshortening in his miniatures and portraits, in which he excelled," such praise is too vague to enable us to ascertain whether it was Antoine or Louis who made the small group portraits on copper, particularly because the two authors describe Louis's work in very similar terms.

It is somewhat arbitrarily, therefore, that we ascribe, or rather leave, to Antoine the group of paintings in small format that depict people united around a table or listening to music. In these works, although the artist displays great technical skill and sensitivity as a colorist, he cannot be considered a great innovator. Antoine (or, to be prudent, the pseudo-Antoine), although perhaps the most charming of the three brothers, was the least gifted; his compositions are awkward and his works show little psychological acuity. Marie-Thérèse de Roodenbeke's important article (1981) adds substantially to the documentation included in the exhibition catalogue of 1978.



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44.**

The Village Piper

Copper, 21.5 × 29 cm

Signed and dated, lower left: *Lenain. ft 1642* (last digit very difficult to read)

Provenance: In France toward the mid-18th century, because it was engraved at this time by P. de Saint-Maurice (active between 1720 and 1732?). Mentioned in 1808 in the Stafford House catalogue (J. Britton, p. 120, no. 127); Sutherland collection until 1930; given by Lady Millicent Hawes, whose first marriage was to the fourth duke of Sutherland, to The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1930.

Exhibitions: See *Le Nain* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1978-1979, pp. 154, 156. According to Thuillier, it was exhibited fourteen times between 1845 (London, British Institution, no. 34) and 1960-1961 (Washington-Toledo-New York, no. 26). We add to this list London, Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1907, no. 134; Paris, 1978-1979, no. 20, ill. and colorpl. p. 18.

Bibliography: For detailed bibliography before 1978, see *Le Nain* (exh. cat.) Paris 1978-1979, p. 156. First mentioned by Waagen in 1838 ([II] p. 63: "Louis und Antoine Le Nain"). Became famous when presented at the Le Nain brothers exhibition, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1910 (no. 61); the painting has since been cited by all authors interested in the Le Nains. Held and Posner, 1972, fig. 151, p. 147; Mirimonde, 1975, p. 170; Blunt, 1978, p. 873; Mus. cat., 1979, p. 104, no. 75, ill; Rosenberg, 1979, p. 99; Thuillier, 1979, p. 160.

The Detroit Institute of Arts
City Appropriation

The small painting on copper in Detroit has been known since the eighteenth century. It is one of three works by the Le Nains engraved (by P. de Saint-Maurice, an amateur engraver) under the rather literary title *Complacent Old Man*. In England early in its history, it became well known following mention by Waagen (1838) and has since been cited by all those who, beginning with Champfleury, have been

interested in the Le Nain brothers. It has been attributed almost unanimously to Antoine, an attribution with which we agree entirely (with the reservation outlined in the Biography). Although the work is signed quite legibly, the date 1642 is, in our opinion, difficult to read; it does, however, seem more convincing than 1644, a date often proposed (*Le Nain* exh. cat., Paris, 1978-1979, p. 50).

The contrast between the ease of execution and the archaism (others have called it naïveté) of the composition is striking. Five smiling children stand as if posed in front of a photographer, listening to the music of an old flageolet player. The six figures stand out from a dark background, forming a kind of frieze, enclosed at either side by two little girls.

A skillful colorist (note the red patch of the jacket worn by the young boy at center), Antoine Le Nain wanted above all to be considered a master of miniature. His technical facility shines forth in this small work, perhaps to the detriment of his powers of observation, which tend to be picturesque rather than psychologically penetrating.

45.***

Three Young Musicians

Wood, 27.5 × 34.5 cm

Signed behind head of dog, beneath book: *Lenain f.*

Provenance: Collection of M. de Besse (or de Béze), Paris sale, 3 Apr. 1775, no. 35: "Dutch School. Le Nain, father. Three men, with hair, hatless; one plucks a guitar, the other plays a small violin, and the third holds a score. They are next to a table on which stands a candlestick, a tankard, a book of music, a goblet, and a pipe. The figures are animated, the color is extremely lively, and the brushwork is admirable. The painting is on wood" (sold for 1,300 livres and acquired by Le Brun); collection of Randon de Boisset, Receveur Général des Finances (for another painting from this collection, see No. 34), Paris sale, 27 Feb. (postponed to 25 Mar.) 1777, no. 84: "Le Nain father. Three bare-headed men, one plucking a guitar, the other playing a violin, and the third holding a score; they are next to a table on which one sees a candlestick, a tankard, a book of music, a goblet, and a pipe. This painting, highly colored and with beautiful brushwork, is painted on wood" (sold for 1,401 livres to the *expert* Paillet); duc de Choiseul sale, Paris, 10 (not 20) Dec. 1787: no. 58: "Le Nain. Three men playing music; they are seen from the waist up. This very truthful painting was seen with pleasure at the sale of M. de Besse" (acquired for 553 livres by Le Brun). Collection of Isabelle Lubomirska (née Czartoryska), Lancut Castle, near Rzeszów (mentioned in the castle inventories of 1802 and 1805); Potocki collection, still in Lancut Castle in 1861 and until at least 1933, when it was published for the first time by Piotrowski; the painting left Poland c. 1944. Collection of Maurice de Rothschild, Prégny, Switzerland; [Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York, in 1957]; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1958.



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Exhibitions: Buffalo, 1957, p. 10, ill.; Bordeaux, 1966, no. 46, Leningrad-Moscow-Kiev-Minsk, 1976, ill. (no number); Paris, Marmottan, 1976, no. 12, colorpl.; Paris, 1978-1979, no. 15 with pl. (detail p. 139).

Bibliography (of the painting in Los Angeles): Ettinger, 1935, p. 4, ill.; Brown, 1960, pp. 3-9, fig. 1; Bernier, Mar. 1965, p. 34, color ill.; Mus. cat., 1965, p. 74, ill. p. 75; *L'Œil*, Oct. 1976, p. 40, ill.; Cogniat, Nov. 1976, p. 2, ill. and color details; Blunt, 1978, pp. 870, 873; Thuillier, 1978-1979, p. 659; Cuzin, 1979, p. 67; Thuillier, 1979, pp. 159, 160; Schleier, 1979, pp. 192-193; Isnard, 1980, p. 80, ill.

Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Anonymous Gift

A second version of this painting — on canvas — was for almost a century considered the original. In 1960 the canvas was acquired by the Galleria Nazionale, Rome, and it was not until the 1978-1979 Le Nain exhibition, where the work was exhibited (no. 66), that it was definitively identified as a copy — an early copy no doubt, but a very mediocre one. The Los Angeles painting is now generally accepted as the original version. It was almost unknown before its acquisition by the County Museum in 1958; having changed hands in several Parisian sales during the eighteenth century, it was in Poland, outside the public domain, for over a century.

Almost without exception, scholars now attribute the painting (or its copy) to Antoine Le Nain. We see no reason to question the attribution (allowing of course for the “interchangeability” of the names Louis and Antoine), despite Jean-Pierre Cuzin’s cautious attribution to Mathieu (1979). Admittedly, the Los Angeles painting, like the *Painter’s Atelier* (Bute collection), seems more brilliant in execution, with the “scintillating virtuosity of [its] tiny brushstrokes,” than the small group portraits and scenes of children that are generally attributed to Antoine (and of which the painting in Detroit [No. 44] is a perfect example). But one should take into account the support of the work (as

with the *Painter’s Atelier*, wood rather than copper) and its condition (the result of harsh cleaning). Above all, one should remember the resemblance of the models — auburn-haired children with parted lips — and the similarity in composition and coloring between the Los Angeles painting and other, known works by Antoine.

The interest of the Los Angeles painting lies not only in the sureness and consistency of handling but also in the sources of its inspiration. The artist seems to have been equally familiar with Flemish still life (as in the everyday objects on the table) and a Caravaggesque vocabulary (as in the inspired figure of the pochette player and the more pensive figure of the guitarist). Again Le Nain shows a preference for the world of children and adolescents and chooses “the most simple and naïve subjects” (Mariette). Unlike Chardin, however, with whom Mariette compares him, he both fails to understand the psychology of his models and to recreate their souls in pictorial terms.

LE NAIN Louis

(1600-1610 Laon; Paris 1648)

Of the three Le Nain brothers, least is known about Louis. What is certain, however, is that he was not born in 1593, as has often been claimed. He was in Paris with Antoine and Mathieu in 1629, and he participated, as they did, in the first assembly of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture on 1 March 1648. He was buried 24 May 1648.

As mentioned above (see Antoine Biography), we have attempted to separate the work of the three brothers into three distinct groups. For two of these groups, however, a definitive attribution is not possible. This means that, for our purposes, the names Louis and Antoine are essentially “interchangeable.” The contemporary descriptions of Louis’s style given by du Bail and Leleu are of little help: “He does marvelous work in small scale and also in his small paintings [with] thousands of different postures painted from life.” “He succeeds in half-length and bust portraits.”

It is therefore in a somewhat arbitrary manner that we give (or rather leave, in keeping with custom) the name of Louis to the group of paintings that depict people with round, heavy faces — all with an air of melancholic gravity. The art of Louis (or the pseudo-Louis) is moving and contemplative, somber and thoughtful. As an artist he shunned elegance and tirelessly explored new horizons. He is, finally, the genius of the family.

46.

Peasants Before Their House

Canvas, 55 × 70.5 cm

Provenance: Probably acquired in the last third of the 18th century by Charles, fourth duke of Rutland (1754-1787; could be confused with a painting called "Peasants at the door of a cottage, capital," which was put up for sale at Christie's, London, 27-29 Feb. 1772, no. 60, sold to "May" for 25 guineas); [the painting from the sale of the "late Michallon portrait sculptor, premier coiffeur du Roi and of S.A.R. the duc d'Angoulême" on 30 Mar.-4 Apr. 1818, no. 351: "Nain (L. le). Family of villagers at the door of their house. From all points of view the painting merits restoration.... Canvas, h. 22; 1.28" (59.5 × 75.5 cm) could be confused with the Boston copy. The sale of 1818 and that of London 1772 were kindly pointed out to us by Marie-Thérèse de Roodenbeke]; remained in the duke of Rutland's family, Belvoir Castle, until 1936; [Knoedler, New York, 1936-1941]; California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1941; The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1972.

Exhibitions: To the list of fifteen exhibitions cited by Jacques Thuillier (*Le Nain* [exh. cat.] Paris, 1978-1979) should be added: The Hague, 1966, no. 20, ill.; Paris, 1978-1979, no. 35, ill., detail p. 205, color detail p. 10; Denver-New York-Minneapolis, 1978-1979, no. 24.

Bibliography: The extensive bibliography given by Jacques Thuillier (*Le Nain* [exh. cat.] Paris, 1978-1979) can be completed by the following: Waagen, 1854 (III) p. 399; Jamot, 1923, pp. 32-33; *The Art Quarterly*, Spring 1941, p. 148, ill., pp. 154-155; Wehle, 1957, no. 14; *Art Treasures in the West*, Menlo Park, 1966, p. 156, ill. p. 144; Bordeaux, 1977, p. 33; Blunt, 1978, p. 873; Thuillier, 1978-1979, p. 660; Cuzin, 1979, p. 70, n. 14; Rosenberg, 1979, p. 94, ill. p. 95; Thuillier, 1979, pp. 159, 160, 163, 166, n. 1; Schleier, 1979, pp. 191-192; Lee, 1980, p. 213, fig. 2.

The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
Mildred Anna Williams Collection, 1941.17

For many years, the version of *Peasants Before Their House* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (see Inventory) was thought to have been painted by Louis Le Nain; direct comparison of the Boston version with the San Francisco version, however (the two were exhibited together in 1978-1979 at the Le Nain exhibition), indicates that the Boston painting must in fact be an early copy. Comparison of the two works has added immeasurably to our knowledge of the original painting, now at San Francisco. The canvas has been extended at both sides: originally, the stooped old woman, her hands concealed beneath her skirts, sat with her back against the edge of the picture, and the young boy seated on the ground leaned against a chair.

The attribution of the work to Louis Le Nain has never been questioned. And if Louis was in fact the genius of the family, only he could have painted it. As early as 1854, Waagen described the work as having "all the most esteemed



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qualities of the master, great truth, clearness of colour and a careful execution." Since then one has admired, in turn, the confident strokes that subtly intensify the plaster gray and yellow nuances of the dilapidated stone house, the audacious red of the jacket worn by the pensive youth, and, above all, the figure of the man with the large hat, standing "in his tattered clothes, one of the most beautiful peasant figures in all of French art" (Thuillier). The dignity of the model contrasts with the poverty of the scene and the decay of the Laonnaise house with the staircase typically on the exterior.

No gesture animates the scene, but as in the *Cart* of 1641 (Louvre), the protagonists seem to await the arrival of a visitor. Even the two women holding children in their arms and the young girl with the dog appear to watch expectantly. The disquieting atmosphere of the scene is created by this almost obsessive sense of expectation. The figures are painted without condescension, without sentimentality, without irony, but with a directness that bespeaks respect and compassion. Only rarely has poetic naturalism been so sensitively rendered.

47.

Peasants in a Landscape

Canvas, 46.5 × 57 cm

Provenance: Collection of Thomas Gainsborough (1728-1788); Gainsborough sale, after the artist's death, at Schomberg House, spring 1789, no. 10: "Le Nain. Travelling Musician" (sold for 50 guineas); collection of George Hibbert, Hibbert sale, Christie's, London, 13 June 1829, no. 36: "Le Nain. Peasant Children piping, in a Landscape, their Mother sitting by and looking on, near a

Gateway; the background in a level Country, the outlines of which are thrown into agreeable [sic] perspective. This picture is recorded to have been a favourite of Gainsborough, and was twice in his possession"; acquired for 14 guineas 14 by "J.F. Dibden" (?). Neeld collection, Chippenham (Wiltshire), in 1854, the year Waagen ([II] p. 245) mentions it. Remained in Joseph Neeld collection, then Sir Audley Neeld, then L.W. Neeld, until 1944; Christie's, London, 9 June 1944, no. 18 (1,200 guineas); [Wildenstein, New York]; Samuel H. Kress; National Gallery of Art, 1946.

Exhibitions: London, 1910, no. 31, pl. VII; London, 1932, no. 109; Paris, 1934 (I) no. 27; Bristol, 1938, no. 11; Paris, 1978-1979, no. 36, pl. and detail p. 210.

Bibliography: We will complete the very detailed bibliographies given by Colin Eisler (1977, pp. 266-267) in the catalogue of non-Italian paintings in the Kress collection and by Jacques Thuillier in *Le Nain* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1978-1979. Blunt, 1978, pp. 873-874; Cuzin, 1979, p. 70, n. 14; Longhi, 1979 (II) pl. 154b; Rosenberg, 1979, p. 94; Schleier, 1979, p. 192.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Samuel H. Kress Collection

The painting is one of Louis Le Nain's masterpieces. It is, however, in poor condition and appears to have been slightly extended at the left, adding space between the figure of the old woman and the edge of the canvas. We do not know the early provenance of the work. To its first known owner, Thomas Gainsborough, it was an important work; the painter must have been particularly attuned to the harmony of the gray green fields with the milky gray blue sky, found as well in his own landscapes.

Once again, it is to Waagen (1854) that we owe the first mention of the painting, which he describes as "of his usual truth, and also of transparent colouring and delicate effect" ([II] p. 245). At this period the painting was in the collection of the Neeld family, where it remained until 1944. There is an early, mediocre copy of the work, with a few modifications but in good condition, in the collection of the duke of Westminster.

The painting has always been attributed to Louis Le Nain, an attribution we see no reason to doubt (noting, again, that Antoine and Louis are "interchangeable"). An old woman nearly identical to the one seen here is present also in two other paintings incontestably by Louis, the *Peasant Interior with a Young Flageolet Player* (Hermitage) and the *Happy Family* (Louvre). Although the latter work dates from 1642, there is nothing to indicate that the *Peasants in a Landscape* dates from the same year.

The old woman, the little girl, the musette player, the young boy with the hurdy-gurdy, and the peasants working in the field are secondary to the real subject of the painting: the terrain and distant horizon sealed off by undulating hills dotted with houses and a church. For this painting is the "portrait of a site," a site of desolation and yearning (despite the mocking smile of the hurdy-gurdy player). It is without doubt one of the most daring French landscapes of the



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seventeenth century. It would be interesting to exhibit the painting alongside landscapes by Dughet and Millet, Bourdon and Patel (the latter from Picardy, a few miles from Laon), thereby showing the radical modernity of Le Nain's conception. Ignoring established conventions, disregarding the laws of perspective, and rejecting lyricism, the artist confined himself to a prosaic truth that owes its greatness to a vision of absolute sincerity.

48.***

Louis (?) Le Nain

Landscape with a Chapel

Canvas, 41.5 × 55 cm

Provenance: Belonged in 1839 to George Wilbraham, Northwick (Cheshire); sold by a descendant of the same name, Christie's, London, 18 July 1930, no. 24 ("A. L. and M. Le Nain"), for 682 guineas 10; [Durlacher Brothers, London]; Wadsworth Atheneum, 1931.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1839, no. 158; exhibited seventeen times between 1931 and 1978-1979 (*Le Nain* [exh. cat.] list p. 198); Paris, 1978-1979, no. 32, ill.

Bibliography: For extensive bibliography until 1978, see *Le Nain* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1978-1979, p. 198; Blunt, 1978, pp. 873-874; Cuzin, 1979, p. 70, n. 14; Rosenberg, 1979, p. 96, ill. p. 97; Schleier, 1979, p. 192; Thuillier, 1979, p. 159.

Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford
The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection

The painting, after having been given mention in 1839 on the occasion of an exhibition in London, disappeared for



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almost a century. It was sold in 1930 and acquired by Hartford the following year. Since then it has been exhibited many times on both sides of the Atlantic and published frequently (Mus. cat., 1958, ill. in color), always under the name of Louis Le Nain.

The painting has suffered from overcleaning; it has lost its glaze, and certain rather unusual lighting effects have resulted — most notably, the emanation of light from the interior of the chapel. Cleaning also has highlighted the porcelain quality of the paint and has disturbed the equilibrium of the compositional planes. The condition of the canvas accounts for our reluctance (1979) to make a definitive attribution to Louis; we described the painting at that time as having “clear, vivid colors, a certain awkwardness of composition”; furthermore, the group of disparate objects in the foreground — the barrel, the basket, the three-footed pot, the jug — and the oddly positioned dog with staring eyes encouraged us to attribute the work to Mathieu.

It is with no less hesitation today that we exhibit the work under the name of Louis. This attribution is, however, supported by, on the one hand, the resemblance of the old woman and the child to figures in the *Three Ages* (National Gallery, London) and, on the other, by the artist’s conception of the Picardy landscape, a landscape illuminated by a pale northern sun and animated by a shepherd with his flock, a milkmaid with her cow, and a gentleman having his fortune told. Ultimately the dreamy, melancholic atmosphere of the painting, accentuated by the flute player at center, and the highly serious, almost unreal tone can be attributed only to Louis.

LE NAIN Mathieu

(c. 1607 Laon; Paris 1677)

Of the lives of the three Le Nain brothers, that of Mathieu, the youngest, is the best documented, both in terms of his artistic activities and his military career. In 1633 he was named Peintre Ordinaire de la Ville de Paris and in the same year became Lieutenant de la Compagnie Bourgeoise du Sieur du Ry. In 1648 he participated, with his two brothers, in the first assembly of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. In 1649 he offered to the Académie the Portrait of Mazarin (location unknown), dated before 1646. We know of many documents signed by Mathieu relating to stocks, real estate, and other business matters from 1652 onward. In 1658 he assumed the title Sieur de La Jumelle, the name of his farm near Laon. Four years later Mathieu received the Ordre de Saint-Michel, an honor he was obliged to renounce in 1666. He was a prosperous man by the time he died in 1677.

Three related propositions have enabled us to define Mathieu Le Nain’s artistic personality. First, Jean-Pierre Cuzin (1978) deleted from Mathieu’s œuvre a group of works that Cuzin attributes to the Maître des Jeux (a name of convenience that no doubt refers to a Flemish painter established in Paris), thereby according to Mathieu’s work a previously lacking stylistic unity. Second, in dating the Vassar College canvas, the Painter’s Studio (see Inventory), about 1655, or in any case later than 1648, the year of Antoine’s and Louis’s deaths, Cuzin (1978, 1979) has provided a painting of definite attribution from which it has been possible to attribute a separate group of works to Mathieu. Finally, we tried to demonstrate (Revue de l’Art, 1979) that the Birth of the Virgin at Notre-Dame was in fact a collaboration between Louis (or the pseudo-Louis) and Mathieu. To the latter, one can attribute the background with the smiling children with long, curly hair — elegant, graceful, and less severe in feeling than the group of Anne and the Virgin Mary. This identification of Mathieu’s style (of the three brothers’ styles, the most Parisian) indicates the limitations of his talent, a talent more superficial and less consistent than that of his brother Louis.

49.

Peasant Interior

Canvas, 55.5 × 64.5 cm

Provenance: We know the painting was in France in the 18th century because it was engraved at that time by Catherine Elise Lempereur (née Cousinet, 1726) under the title “*Le Bénédicité flamant*,” but it did not belong to the Orléans collection, as is sometimes said. Cited in 1902 in the duke of Leeds’s collection catalogue (no. 201); acquired [through Wildenstein] by Samuel H.



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Kress in 1946; exhibited National Gallery of Art, since 1950; National Gallery of Art, 1952.

Exhibitions: London, 1910, no. 34, pl. IX; Paris, 1934 (1) no. 15; London, 1938, no. 338 (ill. p. 85 in the "Illustrated Souvenir"); New York, 1951, no. 14; Paris, 1978-1979, no. 24, ill. (details) p. 16, color details p. 19.

Bibliography: For extensive bibliography, see Thuillier, *Le Nain* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1978-1979, p. 168; Blunt, 1978, p. 873; Cuzin, 1979, p. 70, n. 14; Rosenberg, 1979, p. 96, ill. p. 97; Schleier, 1979, p. 190.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Samuel H. Kress Collection 1952

Although the painting (of which an unpublished small copy was offered for sale to the Louvre in 1934; Louvre archives, 15 June 1934, P.30) was well known in the eighteenth century because an engraving of it had been made (by Catherine Elise Lempereur), it was not recognized as a masterpiece until 1910, on the occasion of the memorable Le Nain exhibition organized by Robert Witt. The work was again enthusiastically received in Paris at the 1934 Le Nain exhibition, organized by another eminent Le Nain specialist, Paul Jamot. The painting was regarded as an important work at the 1978-1979 exhibition in Paris, and Jacques Thuillier rightly considers it one of the most perfect Le Nain creations. It should be added that among those who have attempted to separate the work of the three brothers, the painting has been unanimously attributed to Louis. Even Jean-Pierre Cuzin (1979) agrees with this attribution, although he is somewhat hesitant: "The clear range of faded grays and certain fine and delicate passages might lead us to attribute the work to Mathieu, but its links with the *Peasant's Repast* in the Louvre oblige us to consider it as by the same hand [that of Louis]." And yet, for our part, there can be scarcely any doubt that this canvas was painted not by Louis

but by Mathieu, between the years 1640 and 1645. The condition of the work is exceptionally good. Jacques Thuillier's analysis of the work has been invaluable in contributing to the definition of Mathieu's artistic style — insofar as it is in fact possible to define solely from the background of the *Birth of the Virgin* at Notre-Dame (see Mathieu Biography): "a range of clear and luminous colors, the silvery harmony of grays and of beiges," "a sentiment that is [in parts] almost *précieux*," and the "fine features, thick curls [and] flushed gaze of the youth with the glass of wine."

Only rarely did Mathieu attain such brilliance of execution, and only rarely was he so observant in his depiction of realistic detail. The psychological analysis, nevertheless, remains superficial and lacking in compassion: the woman holding the distaff, with the toadlike face and "little pig's eyes"; the inexpressive young boy, who appears dazed rather than contemplative; and the old man holding his bowl and hat, who smiles without thought, almost inanely, have little in common with the strange, reflective, and poetic world of Louis Le Nain. Even a rather charming section of the canvas — the little girl leaning against the chimney — has none of the enchanting mystery one finds in a similar detail of the *Peasant's Repast*. And finally, the rigidity of the composition, which groups around a barrel covered with a wood plank three peasants who pose as if for no reason, is far removed from the silent, dreamlike, profoundly human world of Louis. The painting is, nevertheless, a masterpiece of detailed naturalism, careful observation, and subtle coloration, and is Mathieu's finest work.

LE SUEUR Eustache

(1616 Paris; Paris 1655)

Le Sueur is unusual in being less known and appreciated today than he was in his own lifetime and indeed up to the nineteenth century. The research of Alain Mérot, soon to be published, should restore Le Sueur to his rightful place among the most original painters of the decade that witnessed the birth of Pierre Mignard, Bourdon, and Le Brun.

Le Sueur never left Paris. He was trained by Simon Vouet, yet even in his first canvases (i.e., the series Hypnerotomachia Poliphili), a note of sensuality and a refinement in the use of color distinguish his work from that of his master. Influenced by prints after Raphael (and by the few paintings available to him in private Paris collections) and works by Poussin (who was in Paris from 1640 to 1642), Le Sueur's work became increasingly classical (Cabinet de l'Amour and Cabinet des Muses in the Hôtel Lambert [Louvre]) while at the same time retaining its characteristic elegance and grace, its harmony and freshness of tone. Le Sueur's reputation soared

following his rapid execution of the series the Life of Saint Bruno (Louvre), and in 1648 he was elected to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture.

His art became with time increasingly severe and monumental, cold, and controlled; the delicacy of his colors, however, in its extreme expression, verges on preciousness. His death at the age of thirty-eight, which occurred one year before La Hyre's and two years before Stella's, left Le Brun to assume the position in France of premier peintre.

50.

Sea Gods Paying Homage to Love

Canvas, 95 × 135 cm

Provenance: In 1645 (Le Comte, 1702) to "M. de Commanse," very probably Alexandre de Comans (d. 1650), son of Marc de Comans (d. 1644). Château de Sauvage (Emancé, near Rambouillet), sale, 18 Oct. 1970, no. G.34 (the painting can be seen in a color photograph of the château dining room in the sale cat.: "Ecole française, XVIII^e siècle. L'enlèvement d'Amphitrite"); [Heim, Paris]; The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1972.

Exhibitions: Northridge, 1973, no. 24, ill.

Bibliography: Le Comte, 1702 ed. (III) p. 79; Guillet de Saint-Georges et al. in *Mémoires inédits*, 1854 ed. (I) pp. 149-150, n. 2; Bordeaux, 1975, p. 82, colorpl. pp. 84-85; Salz, 1977, esp. pp. 9-10, 49; Sapin, 1978, p. 250, n. 7.

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

Through the writings of Guillet de Saint-Georges, Mariette (*Mémoires inédits*, 1854), and Florent Le Comte, we know that one of the first commissions executed by Le Sueur, when he was "still painting in the style of M. Vouet," was a series of paintings illustrating the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* or the *Dream of Poliphilus*. The novel by Francesco Colonna (see Calvesi, 1980), published in Venice in 1499, was enormously popular in France during the seventeenth century, primarily because of the translation (1600) by Béroalde de Verville. Le Sueur illustrated eight episodes from the book, which were intended to be woven as tapestries "at the Gobelins by MM. la Planche et Comans" (Guillet de Saint-Georges, 1854 ed.). Seven of these compositions are known to us today, five as paintings (Musée Magnin, Dijon; Le Mans; Malibu; Rouen; and Salzburg) and two as tapestries (a recently discovered, as yet unpublished composition has just been added to the one made known to us in 1977 by Alan Salz).

The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* recounts the dreams of



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Poliphilus and his perfect union with Polia; but, above all, it is a pretext for laborious archaeological descriptions. The canvas at Malibu illustrates the last paragraph of Book I, chapter 12, in which Poliphilus describes his departure with Polia on Cupid's golden barque (at left) for the island of Cythera; the sea gods, Neptune with his trident, Oceanus, and the sea goddess Amphitrite all gather together to pay homage to Cupid, god of love. Le Sueur follows Colonna's text fairly faithfully, without strictly adhering to it. The story offers to the artist an occasion to depict elegant and beautiful nudes.

Despite the studies by Blunt (1937) and by Alan Salz (1977), the series *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* still poses three questions: Is Le Sueur the sole author of these canvases, or should some, or all, of them be attributed to Simon Vouet? If Le Sueur is the sole author, when did he paint the works? And in what order did he paint them? We can now confirm that of the five canvases which have been found, the one at Malibu is the earliest. Were they painted over a period of many years or within a fairly short space of time? We are among those who tend toward the first hypothesis (Rouen Mus. cat., 1966, no. 66), although Le Sueur's style may in fact have evolved more rapidly than we at present believe, and the series may have been completed fairly quickly. In any case, the Malibu canvas must have been painted about 1636-1638. Is the work, as we believe it to be, entirely by Le Sueur? Or is its conception, and indeed even part of its execution, attributable to Simon Vouet, as Alain Mérot has (in writing) proposed? Marguerite Sapin's publication (1978) of two preparatory drawings by Le Sueur for another painting (Le Mans) in the series would seem to reinforce the first hypothesis, although we must now question this as well, following the recent discovery in a private Paris collection of a drawing inscribed with the name Vouet, which is a preliminary sketch for Triton at left, who blows into the shell-horn.

It is, nevertheless, our belief that this vital, sparkling painting is evidence that Le Sueur, barely over twenty, without being entirely free of his master's influence, had

already evolved a style that was his own. More supple in his handling than Vouet, with a more delicate and refined sensuality and a better feeling for color, Le Sueur was from the beginning a more lyrical and poetic artist.

51.

Sleeping Venus

Canvas (octagonal), 122 × 117 cm

Provenance: Probably from the prince de Conti collection, first sale, 8 Apr. (in fact, 10 May) 1777, p. 193, no. 621: "Sleeping Venus Surprised by Love" (no dimensions given), acquired by "Vautrin" according to the annotated copy of the catalogue in the Bibliothèque Doucet. [In the catalogue of an anonymous sale on 10 Dec. 1778, no. 100, under the name of Le Sueur, a work is described as "Love who has just surprised a half-naked woman sleeping on a bed that is hung with a crimson curtain," but the dimensions given in the sale catalogue ("H. 27 *pouces* × 32 *pouces*" [73 × 86.5 cm]) do not correspond to those of the San Francisco painting. [O'Dwyer collection, Salisbury, c. 1940-1968]; [Johannes Thermes collection, Dublin, 1969-1975]; [Art Associates Partnership, Bermuda, 1975]; The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1977.

Exhibitions: Denver-New York-Minneapolis, 1978-1979, no. 27.

Bibliography: Dussieux, 1852-1853, p. 118 (and p. 122); Rouchès, 1923, p. 53 (as lost); *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Mar. 1978, p. 44, fig. 198; Cohn and Siegfried, 1980, p. 116; Lee, 1980, p. 214, colorpl. XIX p. 217.

The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
Mildred Anna Williams Fund, 1977.10

The painting has always been famous. We know of an early copy put up for sale at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 17 May 1974 (as school of Simon Vouet, 126 × 127 cm, no. 96, ill.), an engraving in reverse by Pierre Daret (1604-1675; not catalogued by R. A. Weigert), a square engraving published by Bassan in the eighteenth century with the suggestive title *Mars's Messenger*, another by Emma Soyer, in Landon (*Vie et œuvres... d'Eustache Le Sueur*, 1811, Part I, vol. 2, no. 92), and the version by Challamel, in Vitet (1849 ed., pl. 61). We still, however, know little about the painting's history before the last war, apart from its probably having passed into the collection of the prince de Conti in the eighteenth century.

Le Sueur has given the work a frankly erotic tone by stripping it of its mythological connotations. By grouping together in the background Cupid, who holds a finger to his lips in a gesture of silence, and Vulcan, who hammers vigorously in his workshop, Le Sueur has enhanced with erotic intimations his portrayal of a voluptuous nude woman. By placing the face of the sleeping goddess in shadow but leaving her naked body, illumined by a bright light, open to



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our regard, he verges on the licentious without, however, resorting to vulgarity.

The work dates from before 1640 — in our opinion, from only shortly before. Le Sueur here frees himself from the influence of Vouet and adopts a range of colors that are entirely his own: rare blues and violets, crystalline hues, and cold whites. The pose of Venus, which is indebted to the *Sleeping Ariadne* (Vatican), to Titian, and to Poussin's Bacchanals, was to become highly celebrated, and it may well have been the basis for several *Odaliskes à l'esclave* by Ingres (Cohn and Siegfried, 1980). This is not surprising considering the admiration accorded to Le Sueur in the nineteenth century, an admiration shared by Ingres, who wrote, "Eustache Le Sueur: gentle child of Raphael's works, who, without leaving Paris, understood that which was beautiful and brought forth marvels of grace and sublime simplicity" (Delaborde, 1870, p. 163).

52.

Young Man with a Sword

Canvas, 64 × 52 cm

Provenance: Discovered in France before 1965; Mme Seligmann, Paris; [Edward Speelman, London]; Wadsworth Atheneum, 1966.

Bibliography: Sterling, 1965, pp. 182-183, pl. 7; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 3/4, 1966, p. 294; *Bulletin of the Wadsworth Atheneum*, 1966-1967, p. 24, pl. 2 p. 31.

Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford
The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection



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Like most French artists in the seventeenth century, Le Sueur did not paint only mythological and religious subjects, large-scale secular and sacred decorations; he also devoted himself — particularly during the first part of his career — to portraiture. Before 1965, only two portraits by the artist were known: the *Portrait of M. Albert* (?) (1641, Guéret Museum) and the celebrated *Reunion of Friends* (Louvre), commissioned by Anne de Chambré, war treasurer during the reign of Louis XIII. In 1965, Charles Sterling published, in the Friedlaender Festschrift, three new portraits (all at the time in private collections) by Le Sueur, thereby adding immeasurably to our knowledge of the painter in this genre. (In our opinion, one should add to Sterling's list the fine *Portrait of a Young Man* in the National Gallery, London, which is still attributed to Karel Dujardin.) Sterling outlined the features common to all five paintings: hands with “free flowing contours” and “long flat nails,” “a composition that gains its allure from a personal formula [with] the model seen from the waist up... one of the arms resting either on a hip or on the hilt of a sword.” “Certain details are recurrent: the edge of the collar is turned up slightly above the shoulder, it is creased and modeled with a creamy touch that allows for the subtle play of light on the white lace.”

Of the three recently discovered paintings, the most compelling, the most original in its range of colors and in its audacious composition — is that in Hartford, which Sterling dates to between 1640 and 1645 and which he describes as follows: “This last work is without doubt Le Sueur's masterpiece as a portraitist. It is held together by a very refined range of warm and cold tones. The collar of bluish white, the satin of the white sleeve with its greenish reflections, and the steel gray coat are all set off by the dark brown hair with its reddish tints, by the orangey tone of the

flesh, by the pale beige and pink background. The serene luxury of this color, the sudden intimacy with the model caught in action, but as if eternalized by the perfection of a pure light, comes very close to the visual poetry of Vermeer.”

53.

The Annunciation

Canvas, 156 × 125.5 cm

Provenance: Painted for the chapel of the residence of Guillaume Brissonnet (or Brignonnet; d. 1674), Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, later Président au Grand Conseil. In the 18th century, the house (rue Portefoin in the Marais; now destroyed) was owned by Turgot (1727-1781), Louis XVI's Contrôleur Général des Finances, who sold it in 1775. In 1782, Turgot's nephew attempted in vain to sell to the king the painting and the chapel decoration, which had been dismantled and transported to the residence of the marquis de Turgot (Étienne François [1721-1789], older brother of the minister) on the quai d'Orléans (Île Saint-Louis). Collection of *citoyen* Robit, sale, 11 Mar. 1801, no. 124; acquired for 11,000 francs by Desmarais on behalf of the English dealer Bryan. Collection of marquis de Montcalm, Montpellier, Montcalm sale, Christie's, London, 4 May 1849, no. 119 (178 guineas 10); earl of Normanton, Somerley (Hampshire), 1857; A. W. Wall (?); [Aldwych Art Gallery, until 1947]; [Wildenstein, New York, 1947-1952]; The Toledo Museum of Art, 1952.

Exhibitions: Pittsburgh, 1951, no. 66, ill.; New Orleans, 1953-1954, no. 20.

Bibliography: Le Comte, 1702 ed. (III) p. 80; Dezallier d'Argenville *filz*, 1752 ed., p. 207 (1765 and 1770 eds., p. 245); Dezallier d'Argenville, 1762 ed. (IV) p. 116; Dussieux, 1852-1853, pp. 26, 58; Guillet de Saint-Georges in *Mémoires inédits*, 1854, p. 164; Waagen, 1857 (IV) (supp.) p. 369; Blanc, 1857 (II) p. 195; Lejeune, 1864, p. 176; Graves, 1921 (II) p. 158; Rouchès, 1923, pp. 73-74; Dimier, 1927 (II) p. 6; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 2, 1953, p. 150; Isarlo, 1960, pl. 34; Mus. cat., *French Art 1600-1800*, Toledo, 1960, p. 78, ill.; Wittmann, 1962, p. 44, fig. 5; *Museum News. The Toledo Museum of Art*, Autumn 1965, p. 54, ill. (before and after restoration); Heim, London (exh. cat.) 1974, under nos. 7-8; Mus. cat., 1976, p. 97, pl. 189, colorpl. VIII; Vasseur, 1977, pp. 8, 10, fig. 3.

The Toledo Museum of Art
Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey

Few of Le Sueur's works are as well documented as the *Annunciation* at Toledo. We know from various early sources that Guillaume Brissonnet (as opposed to Charles), Conseiller au Parlement de Paris, commissioned the artist to decorate the chapel of his residence. For the altar he requested an *Annunciation*, which Dezallier d'Argenville (1762) described as follows: “Saint William and Saint Margaret are depicted on the front panels of the altar: the eight beatitudes are



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painted in small scale against a gold background on the side panels and above, *en camaieu*, are painted the Birth of the Virgin, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Presentation, and the Purification.” He added, “These beautiful little paintings make one regret the ruined condition of the ceiling in the ancient chapel, which originally was decorated with the Assumption of the Virgin.” It appears in fact that Le Sueur’s decoration was completely neglected in the eighteenth century until, in 1782 and in 1784, following the death of Turgot, Contrôleur Général des Finances for Louis XVI and owner of the Hôtel Brissonet until 1775, Turgot’s nephew and brother offered to sell the painting and the entire decoration of the ceiling to the king for 10,000 livres (Guiffrey, 1877). The transaction fell through mainly because, only shortly before, the royal collections had been enriched by two other groups of incomparable paintings by Le Sueur: the decoration of the Hôtel Lambert, with the Cabinet de l’Amour and the Cabinet des Muses, and the series the *Life of Saint Bruno*, from the Chartreux. Before it was acquired by the Toledo Museum of Art in 1952, the *Annunciation* was in several French and English collections. The fate of the other decorations for the chapel of the Hôtel Brissonet is less clear. Two of the “beatitudes ... on gold background” have, however, recently been found and one of them has been acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago (see Inventory; Vasseur, 1977). The dating of the Toledo *Annunciation* is not a difficult matter. Florent Le Comte (1702 ed.), having most likely consulted papers obtained from Le Sueur’s family, published a list of works executed by the artist from 1645 onward. It is generally accepted today that not only is the list arranged in chronological order but also that each paragraph refers consecutively to a different year. This allows us to date the work at Toledo precisely to 1650.

Le Sueur painted several Annunciations. The *Annunciation*

in the Louvre (Rosenberg, Reynaud, Compin, 1974, no. 543, ill.), originally from the church in Mitry and somewhat larger than the Toledo canvas, was painted in 1652 and differs from it in several ways. To the later work the faces of two angels have been added, as have been cherub heads and a dove (a dove can also be seen in the Toledo canvas before restoration; see ill. in Pittsburgh exh. cat., 1951). Le Sueur also considerably modified the shape of the prie-dieu and the scene takes place not in a vaulted alcove closed off by curtains but in front of a brick wall. The realistic details of the Toledo canvas — the drawn curtain that reveals the bed, the pile of books, and the acanthus leaf that adorns the prie-dieu — have all been eliminated in the Louvre painting. The salmon pinks, the lilac blues, the intense greens lose their gay and springlike aspect; the clear light illuminating the angel’s gesture (for which the Louvre has a beautiful preparatory drawing, Inv. 30645, Guiffrey and Marcel [IX] no. 9183, ill.; another drawing for the Virgin in Montpellier, Musée Atger Mus. cat., 1830, no. 194, could also be a study for the Louvre painting) becomes colder; the play of curves and the arabesque of the composition become more schematic and stylized, and the Virgin’s calm and smiling expression is endowed with a new gravity. In two years, without apparently modifying the composition, Le Sueur had changed its artistic conception: from a joyful, elegant, and graceful art, he moved to a more ambitious formula, a formula that is more abstract, more introspective.

54.

Virgin and Child with Saint Joseph

Canvas, diam. 91.5 cm

Provenance: Painted “pour Monsieur Foucaut.” In 1797 ([Harcourt cat., p. 35), earl of Harcourt collection, Nuneham (Oxfordshire); sale Viscount Harcourt, 11 June 1948, Christie’s, London, no. 181; [Sabin for 68 guineas 5 shillings]; [David Koetser, New York, 1953]; Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., 1953; The Chrysler Museum, 1971.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1823, no. 137; Portland..., 1956-1957, no. 60, color ill. p. 14; Provincetown, 1958, no. 37; Fort Worth-Tulsa-Austin, 1962-1963, p. 40, colorpl. p. 10; New York, 1967, no. 40, colorpl.

Bibliography: Le Comte, 1702 ed. (III) p. 81; [Harcourt] n.d. (III) p. 39; Dussieux, 1852-1853, p. 116; Graves, 1913 (II) p. 694.

The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk

“For Monsieur Foucaut, a circular painting of the Virgin, the infant Jesus and Saint Joseph.” This is how Florent Le



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Comte, in his most useful biography of Le Sueur (1702 ed.), describes the canvas that is today in the Chrysler Museum. The work is mentioned in the paragraph following that in which the 1650 *Annunciation* (No. 53) appears. It is therefore plausible, for the reasons outlined in the previous entry, to date the present work to 1651, a date fully supported by its style.

What is the identity of "Monsieur Foucault"? Is it Louis de Foucault (1616?-1659), comte Daugnon, maréchal de France, who supported the prince de Condé before rallying to the court in 1653, or is it the father of the archaeologist Nicolas-Joseph Foucault, Secrétaire du Conseil d'État, or is it perhaps Claude Foucauld (or Foucault), Conseiller du Parlement de Paris from 1627? We simply do not know. But the individual in question does not appear to have made a name for himself in the history of important seventeenth-century French collectors. This is perhaps to be expected; the painting at Norfolk bears all the characteristics of a small devotional work painted for private use.

In 1651, Le Sueur was at the height of his career; his refined and elegant style was completely free of the influence of Vouet. Punctuated by the palm tree, the shaft of a column, and the architectural background, the composition is perfectly balanced, its severity softened by the skillful arabesques of the protagonists' gestures. The caring attention of Mary and Joseph is given quite naturally to the infant Jesus. The Virgin, with an expression at once proud and tender, joins her hands in prayer over her son, while Joseph offers him a flower. With nobility and natural grace, Le Sueur renews, without imitating, the Renaissance ideal of perfection.

LEVIEUX Reynaud

(1613 Nîmes; Rome? after 1694)

Thanks to the research of Henri Wytenhove and to the 1978 Marseilles exhibition, the name of Reynaud Levieux is becoming better known. Among the seventeenth-century provincial painters exhibited at Marseilles, Levieux is without doubt the most original and inventive, more so than Daret (see No. 24) or Nicolas Mignard (see No. 68).

After early local training Levieux, about 1640, was in Rome, where he met Poussin in 1642. There he collaborated with Chaperon (see No. 19) and with other French artists in copying works by Raphael to be made into tapestries in France. Levieux returned to Nîmes in 1644 and was soon the rival of Mignard. In 1649 he was in Montpellier, where he received several commissions from the Carthusians. Settling in Aix-en-Provence in 1663, he returned to Italy six years later — apparently for the remainder of his life. He continued to produce work for the south of France while he carried out several Italian commissions (San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome; Serra San Bruno, Calabria).

Although there are in Provence numerous signed and occasionally dated works by Levieux, mainly with religious themes, the whereabouts of the Italian commissions remain, for the most part, unknown. However, an unpublished painting recently stolen from the church of Garlenda, near Savona, has been reattributed to Levieux by G. Romano, and Theseus Discovering the Sword of His Father, at Jacksonville, previously attributed to La Hyre, has been identified by Jean-Pierre Cuzin (see Inventory).

Levieux, a sort of French Sassoferrato, whose work is at once archaizing and neoclassical, is without doubt deserving of the biography promised by Henri Wytenhove.

55.

The Holy Family with the Sleeping Jesus and Saint John the Baptist

Canvas, 80.5 × 75.5 cm

Provenance: Italian, then English art market [Heim, London], 1974; Mead Art Museum, 1980.

Exhibitions: London, Heim, 1974, n. 9, ill.

Bibliography: B. N[icholson], *The Burlington Magazine*, 1974, p. 418, fig. 78, p. 416; Wytenhove, Marseilles (exh. cat.) 1978, p. 178.

Mead Art Museum, Amherst College

The attribution of this painting to Levieux was confirmed



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in 1978 by Henri Wytenhove, who dates it to between 1650 and 1660, when Levieux was working on commissions for churches in Nîmes and Avignon, making it one of the first works by the artist known to us. However, a comparison of this work with Levieux's *Holy Family* of 1651 at Notre-Dame, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (Marseilles exh. cat., 1978, no. 120, ill. in color between pp. 108-109) shows a distinct similarity of architectural landscape background that points to an earlier dating, perhaps even earlier than 1650. The stylistic origin of the Amherst painting can be traced quite easily to Raphael, since it was during the four years of his first stay in Rome (1640-1644) that Levieux was commissioned by Chantelou to copy several of the master's compositions for the Surintendant des Bâtiments, Sublet des Noyers. Levieux remained faithful to Raphael throughout his career, although rarely did he imitate the master so closely — going so far as to trim the Virgin's robe with a double thread of gold and to paint haloes around the heads of the four figures. It is unusual also for Levieux to be so idealistic, relinquishing his customary naturalism and realism. The careful execution, the strong vibrant colors, the composition of dignified grandeur, and the austere charm of the faces place the work among the most beautiful creations in the classical — or rather neoclassical — trend prevalent in the south of France during the seventeenth century. Parallel to developments in Roman painting (above all, Sassoferrato, but also Romanelli and Giacinto Gimignani, who painted several important works for the south of France), Florentine (Dolci), and Bolognese (Cagnacci, among others), this trend, too often neglected by art historians, flowered in France, in both Paris and the provinces. Daret (see No. 24), Nicolas Mignard (see No. 68), and Levieux each brought his own expression to this tradition, and not until Pierre Puget (none

of whose paintings are, so far as we know, included in American collections) does another pictorial tradition — namely that of Genoa — take hold in Provence.

In conclusion, we cite the description (1887) by Philippe de Chennevières of Levieux's painting at San Luigi des Francesi, admittedly tainted with obsolete traditionalism and unjustly critical of Italian painting, "Nothing can render the softness, the tranquillity, the piety, or the charm of this painting with its handsome, pleasing types. Its execution is solid and shows nothing of the looseness of the Italian mode current at the time. A serious painting — simple and very French."

LINARD Jacques

(c. 1600 Paris ?; Paris 1645)

From the death certificate of Jacques Linard (see Mme Dreyfus Brühl, Arts, 17 December 1948), which states that the artist died at the age of "about forty-five years," we know the approximate date of his birth, but beyond this we have no information about his early life or training. He is mentioned for the first time in Paris in 1626, and the first painting that can with certainty be attributed to him dates from 1627. In all probability, he was fairly well known early in his career, judging by the social milieu in which he moved — namely, that of the king's councilors, the lawyers of Parlement, and certain prominent artists, Vignon among them. The title Valet de Chambre du Roi, which he assumed in 1631, is an indication of his financial security, a fact confirmed by the splendor of his funeral.

His paintings, dated between 1627 and 1644, of which few are known today and consist solely of still lifes of flowers and fruit animated by butterflies and birds, are valued chiefly for the quality of execution and for the deep sobriety of their settings. Although symbolic significance is often implicit in the grouping of the objects, the paintings fascinate rather by their melancholy poetry, a poetry that makes Linard the equal of Moillon and Stoskopff, who, with Baugin, are the masters of French seventeenth-century still life.

56.

The Five Senses

Canvas, 54.5 × 68 cm

Provenance: In a Marseilles collection in 1940 (according to Benedict, 1957, p. 26, no. 6); seized in France by the Germans during World War II and returned to its owner by (M. Wuester?) after the Liberation. R. Payelle collection, 1957-1962, Paris sale,



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23 Nov. 1972, no. 43, color ill. and ill. on cover; [Alexandre Rosenberg, New York]; Norton Simon, 1979.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1950, no. 18; Rotterdam, 1954, no. 10, pl. 8; Rome, 1956-1957, no. 182, pl. 70.

Bibliography: Anonymous, 1954, p. 19, ill.; Haug, 1954, pp. 39-40, no. 48, 1964 ed., no. 53 (confusion between this painting and no. 8 in Benedict); Benedict, 1957, pp. 8, 10, 42, no. 18, fig. 17; Revel, 1958, p. 64, ill.; Faré, 1962 (I) pp. 40, 106, colorpl. opp. p. 56; ill. in the advertisements sections of *The Burlington Magazine*, Nov. 1972, *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot*, 17 Nov. 1972 and 5 Jan. 1973, and *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 267, May 1973, p. 127; Faré, 1974, p. 38, pl. p. 34, p. 393, n. 17; Herrmann, 1980, colorpl. p. 66.

Norton Simon, Malibu

Although unsigned, there can be no doubt that this beautiful allegory of the five senses is by Linard. According to Curt Benedict (1957), the painting remained until 1940 with another painting of the same subject and same dimensions now in the Strasbourg Museum (Münster exh. cat., 1979-1980, p. 108, fig. 95, ill. in color). The 1638 date of the Strasbourg canvas corresponds, within a year or two, to the Norton Simon painting.

At center is a bouquet of flowers in a blue faience vase that stands on a box of shavings. In the foreground are an open pomegranate reflected in a mirror, a lemon, another pomegranate, and an ivory flageolet leaning against a closed book. At right is a straw-covered flask and a glass bowl of wine, at left a wood coffer with a dice container, three dice, and a pack of cards. Apart from slight variations, these motifs are identical to those in the Strasbourg canvas. Each of the objects represented is painted as an entity, independent of the others, and each is associated with one of the five senses. In symbolic terms, the objects describe the Passion of Christ: the oblong box of shavings alludes to the holy casket; the open pomegranate symbolizes the Resurrection; the bowl of wine is the blood of Christ.

The painting, which was early considered the "chef d'œuvre de sa vie" (Faré), is distinguished by the simplicity of its essentially classical composition, the refinement of the chromatic harmony dominated by a range of warm reds, and the atmosphere of seriousness and melancholy that so radically differentiates the rustic still lifes of the French masters from the more sophisticated still lifes of their Dutch and Flemish rivals.

LORRAIN Claude born Gellée, Claude

(1600 Chamagne; Rome 1682)

Claude Gellée, called le Lorrain during his lifetime, went to Rome at a young age sometime between 1612 and 1620. Apart from a visit between 1619 and 1622 to Naples, where he stayed with the painter Goffredo Wals, and a brief journey in 1625-1626 to Nancy, where he collaborated with Deruet (see No. 25), he remained in Rome until he died, at the age of eighty-two. A student of Agostino Tassi's, Claude was influenced also by his contemporaries Poelenburgh, Breenbergh, and Swanewelt, and less immediately by the Bril brothers, Elsheimer, and the Bolognese landscape artists. From 1630 on, his artistic reputation and financial success were assured, thanks to commissions from Cardinal Bentivoglio, Pope Urban VIII, and Philip IV, king of Spain. He worked not only for cardinals, princes, and other Roman dignitaries but also for visitors from France. To keep a record of his works, but probably also to discourage forgery and imitation, he copied, beginning in 1635, each of his paintings in a book of two hundred sheets, the Liber Veritatis, now in the British Museum (Kitson, 1978). Claude led a relatively uneventful but productive life; he continued to paint until the eve of his death (see No. 64). His last great patron from 1663 on was Cardinal Colonna.

Although his canvases are animated with small figures, Claude devoted himself primarily to landscape. He searched for inspiration in the Roman campagna, but his paintings — both those that depict the sea, shimmering with reflections of the sun on the waves, and those that depict verdant terrain rich with foliage — are, with rare exceptions, the fruit of his imagination. Although his artistic conception became increasingly severe and grandiose, the work of his last ten years bears witness as well to the flowering of his lyricism, and he remains the painter par excellence of idealized landscape. Claude's vision — that of the Golden Age of antiquity, the timeless, edenic world of nature undefiled — is grounded in a careful observation of natural phenomena and a deeply felt sensitivity to the transformation of the natural world by the changing light of the sun.

Generations of painters, from Turner to Monet, have been influenced considerably by the work of Claude. His fame, great during his lifetime, has remained undiminished. His painting is particularly revered in England. Marcel Roethlisberger has studied

the work of Claude with devotion and has catalogued the artist's 1,200 drawings and 300 paintings. In 1982-1983 a major exhibition dedicated to Claude, organized by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and the Louvre, will commemorate the tricentenary of the artist's death.

57.

Landscape with an Artist Drawing in the Roman Campagna

Canvas, 65.5 × 95 cm

Provenance: Lord Brassey collection, Apethorpe; his sale, Christie's, London, 21 June 1940, no. 119, under the attribution to Swanevelt, acquired for 5 guineas; [Frederick Mont, 1941]; sold in 1947 [by Newhouse] to Hilton-Davis Chemical Co.; then to Sterling Drug, Inc.; Helen F. Spencer Museum of Art, 1980.

Bibliography: Roethlisberger, 1961, 1979 ed., Introduction; Roethlisberger, in press [1982].

Helen F. Spencer Museum of Art
The University of Kansas, Lawrence
Anonymous Gift to the Barbara B. Wescoe Fund

The painting is not well known. Sold in London in 1940 under an attribution to Swanevelt, it was shortly thereafter attributed to Claude by W. R. Valentiner and given to the museum at Lawrence in 1980. It is the subject of an important article, as yet unpublished, which the author, Marcel Roethlisberger, has kindly made available to us. A second, slightly smaller (58 × 81 cm) version of the work, published in 1968 (Roethlisberger [1] p. 115, fig. 2; idem, 1977, no. 14, ill.), entered the Metropolitan Museum in 1975 with the Harry Sperling collection and is considered by Roethlisberger to be a work by Claude. We, for our part, think it more likely an early copy (see Inventory); it varies only slightly in certain details with the painting at Lawrence but bears at the extreme right, on the block of stone hidden among the desert plants, an inscription that appears rather to be a copy of the original: *CLAUDIO I.V. // ROMAE // 1630*.

The date 1630 for the present work is probably correct; many aspects are indicative of Claude's early phase: the composition is still rather tentative and is strongly marked by the Northern influence of Breenbergh (who was in Rome between 1619 and 1629) and Poelenburgh (who was in Italy for about ten years beginning in 1617), as well as that of the Bril brothers and Elsheimer. What is most characteristic, however, is the leaden, grayish coloring, the Corot-like olive greens that one finds in other pictures of his early phase. (Limiting ourselves to the United States, let us mention the



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paintings in Philadelphia [1629], St. Louis, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, and Boston; the date 1637 for the Boston canvas has always puzzled us; see Roethlisberger, 1977, nos. 10, 11, 19, 26, 79, all ill.).

Claude's usual repertoire is already evident in this painting: the artist in a landscape, the antique ruins covered by luxuriant vegetation, the shepherd and his flock. The calm serenity of the late sunlit afternoon is no less characteristic. What is striking, however, is the quality of immediacy and intimacy. Nothing could better introduce us to the work of the artist than this painting, in which one is tempted to recognize Claude himself copying in a single drawing the vestiges of the past and a banal pastoral scene before transcribing them, once back in his studio, in one of those idyllic paintings that were to assure him quite quickly a place of glory.

58.

The Flight into Egypt

Canvas, 71 × 97.5 cm

Signed indistinctly on a stone at center: *CLAV IN*.

Provenance: Acquired from the dealer Donjeux in Paris in 1773 by the second Viscount Palmerson (according to an account book [manuscript] at Broadlands) and remained in the Palmerson family collection at Broadlands (Lord Palmerson; Lord Mount-Temple; Mr. Evelyn-Ashley) until 1889; sold 1889 to Sir E. Guinness, later earl of Iveagh; Iveagh sale, Christie's, London, 10 July 1953, no. 57; [acquired by Knoedler]; [Agnew, London, 1957]; acquired by Mrs. C. H. A. Clowes (1886-1967) in 1959; Indianapolis Museum of Art, 1959.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1828, no. 32; London, Royal Academy, 1884, no. 162; London, Agnew, 1957, no. 11, ill.; Indianapolis, 1960, no. 36, ill.; Notre Dame, 1962, no. 31;



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Bloomington, 1963, no. 9; Bloomington, Indiana University Museum of Art, 1968, special exhibition devoted to this painting (no cat.) Baltimore, 1968, no. 3, ill.; New York, Wildenstein, 1978, no. 14, fig. 13.

Bibliography: *Art News*, Summer 1957, p. 65, ill.; Roethlisberger, 1959, pp. 48, 50, n. 26; Roethlisberger, 1961 (I) p. 466, no. 204 (II) fig. 35 (see also 1979 ed., Introduction); Rosenberg, Florence (exh. cat.) 1968, pp. 33-34; Mus. cat. (Clowes coll., Ian Fraser) 1973, p. 154, ill. p. 155; Roethlisberger, 1975, no. 58, ill.; Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 56, ill.

Indianapolis Museum of Art
Clowes Fund Collection

Between 1773 and 1953, the *Flight into Egypt* at Indianapolis was "reunited" with the *Seascape with Ship Cargo* (Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino; formerly L. Green collection; Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 43, ill.; see Inventory). Admittedly, the two paintings are the same size, but it would appear that they were not originally a pair, since it is difficult to imagine that Claude would have painted a seascape without a specific subject as the pendant to a painting with a religious subject.

The painting at San Marino is one of the first entered by Claude into his *Liber Veritatis* (L.V.2) and would date, according to Kitson (1978, p. 49) to 1633-1634. The Indianapolis canvas could, in our opinion, be slightly earlier, preceding even the Omaha painting (No. 59), which is stylistically more classical. The trees with dense foliage, inspired by Elsheimer, the verdant countryside, and the somewhat insipid monochrome are reminiscent of Claude's canvases from the 1630s, whereas the natural simplicity of the composition, the ease with which the figures are placed — whether it be the group of Saint Joseph, the Virgin, and Child, or that of the shepherds who guide their sheep across the wooden bridge — foreshadows the work from the latter part of the decade.



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The painting shows Claude the poet of nature — nature shown in its lucid simplicity, without grandeur, without an unveiling of hidden mysteries.

59.

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt

Canvas, 75.5 × 91.5 cm

Provenance: Collection of Reverend Sir Gilbert Lewis (1808-1883); his son Sir Herbert Edmund Lewis; upon the death of Sir Herbert in 1911, his house and the contents thereof were acquired by Sir H. W. Duff-Gordon (d. 1953); acquired [by Koetser] in 1956 and sold by him to the Joslyn Art Museum, 1957.

Bibliography: Roethlisberger, 1961 (I) p. 485, no. 221 (II) fig. 34; Roethlisberger, 1968 (I) p. 101, under no. 74; Roethlisberger, 1975, no. 55, ill.; Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 53, ill.

Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha

The painting is not well known. Roethlisberger dates it to about 1634, or a few years before Claude began keeping a record of his work in the *Liber Veritatis*. Roethlisberger (1961, 1975) at one time suggested that the figures, which are given a particularly prominent place in the composition, might have been the work of an Italian collaborator, but more recently he seems to have withdrawn this hypothesis. The classical character of the figures, however, indicates a later date.

Laboratory tests conducted at the St. Louis Museum in 1979 show that the artist originally painted the figure of Saint Joseph standing in back of the angel leading the donkey before placing him behind the group of the Virgin and Child.

This repainting attests conclusively to the authenticity of the Omaha canvas.

Claude painted at least twenty versions of the Flight into Egypt (see No. 58) and the Rest on the Flight into Egypt during his long career. In the present work, although he gives prominence to the figures, he accords considerable attention to the trees, the thick, leafy vegetation, and the large boulder at center. The palm tree at right, which serves as a foil and permits us to better admire the mountains, the bridge, and the sunny valley in the distance, is a device frequently used by Claude in his early canvases, when he wanted above all to concentrate on the direct study of nature. It is the combination of the naïve charm of the figures, the spontaneity in the observation of the Roman campagna, and a natural elegiac nobility that confers on a painting such as the one at Omaha its poignant poetry and its originality, distinguishing it from among the landscapes of the seventeenth century.

60.

Landscape with Cowherd Piping

Canvas, 99 × 136 cm

Signed and dated on the tree trunk, lower center: *CLAUDIO G. IVF 16[50]*.

Provenance: Painted, according to Claude himself (L.V. 121, see Kitson, 1978), for a connoisseur from "intradam" (probably Amsterdam). A. Arnold Hannay collection, London. Walter Howard, Weybridge (Surrey) (the sale catalogue of 1904 names the last two owners); [Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, New York]; American Art Galleries, New York, 7-8 Apr. 1904, no. 60; W. Sturgis collection, New York; [Julius Weitzner, 1933]; sold by him to the Springfield (Mass.) Museum of Art in 1933; sold by Springfield at Tobias, Fischer and Co., New York, 26 Nov. 1946; [Duveen, 1946-1947]; Rush H. Kress, 1947.

Exhibitions: Springfield, 1933, no. 69; San Francisco, 1934, no. 17, ill.; New York, Durlacher, 1938, no. 5; New York, 1965-1966, no. 1, ill.; Bordeaux, 1966, no. 8; New York, Wildenstein, 1967, no. 73, ill.

Bibliography: Roethlisberger, 1961 (I) pp. 299-300, no. 121 (II) fig. 210 (see also supplement in 1979 ed.); Roethlisberger, 1968 (I) pp. 265-266, under nos. 687-688; Roethlisberger, 1975, no. 189, ill.; Eisler (Kress coll.) 1977, pp. 286-287, fig. 256; Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 189, ill.; Kitson, 1978, p. 129.

Private Collection, New York

Books published after 1975 which mention this painting invariably state that it is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum; in fact, however, since 1947 it has been in a private collection (Eisler, 1977). There is an enlarged copy of the



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painting in the Doria Gallery, Rome, in which the figures have been somewhat modified (Roethlisberger, 1968 [I] p. 266), and a very faithful drawing in the *Liber Veritatis* (121; Kitson, 1978) has enabled identification of the painting as having been designated for Holland. Moreover, because of the place occupied by the drawing in the *Liber Veritatis*, it is possible to date the New York painting precisely to 1650. The British Museum owns a sheet (Roethlisberger, 1968, no. 687, ill.) on which are two carefully rendered studies, one for the shepherdess who leans on a stick and raises her left hand and one for the seated musette player.

A specific subject is not indicated, although the agitated figures in the distance at left, who run in opposite directions, are cause for conjecture. The shepherd and shepherdess are more attentive to one another than to the grazing animals in their care. A tree, rocks with a waterfall, and a mass of bushes frame the village, whose fortifications are visible in the distance. The clouded blue sky sheds light upon the foreground as well as on the pond, in which are reflected several large cows.

The painting exemplifies the work of Claude's full maturity. The familiar and peaceful scene, a landscape that appears to be copied directly from nature, is, characteristically, an expression of an ideal. Using anecdote as a pretext and again choosing the Roman campagna as his setting, Claude creates a timeless world, a world into which we are invited to wander and to find repose.

61.*

Landscape with the Battle of Constantine

Canvas, 104 × 139.5 cm

Signed and dated, lower right: *CLAUD... ROMA 1655*



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Provenance: Earl of Leitrim; by succession to the Lady Winifred Renshaw collection, Renshaw sale, Christie's, London, 14 July 1939, no. 89; [Wildenstein, Paris]; confiscated during World War II [Haberstock, Berlin, 1943]; returned [to Wildenstein] after the war; acquired [from Wildenstein] by the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1960.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1948, no. 499; Houston, 1954, no. 27; Richmond, 1961, color ill.; New York, Wildenstein, 1975, no. 35; Washington-Paris, forthcoming [1982-1983], no. 44.

Bibliography: Roethlisberger, 1958, p. 221, fig. 2 p. 220; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 3, 1960, p. 307; *Art News*, Jan. 1961, pp. 30-31, fig. 4 in color; Roethlisberger, 1961 (I) p. 330, no. 137 (II) fig. 231; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1961, p. 33, fig. 105; Mus. cat., 1966, p. 38, no. 53, ill.; Kitson, 1967, pp. 145-146 and n. 29 and pp. 148-149; Roethlisberger, 1968 (I) pp. 286-289, under nos. 760-761; Roethlisberger, 1975, no. 206, ill.; Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 206, ill.; Kitson, 1978, pp. 22, 35, 138, n. 36; Gueorguievskaja and Kouznetsova, 1980, under no. 8.

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond

The painting at Richmond poses problems of attribution that we shall only touch upon here and that will no doubt be resolved when the work is exhibited again at the Claude Lorrain exhibition to be held in Washington, D.C., and Paris in 1982-1983 to commemorate the tricentenary of the painter's death.

The painting depicts the battle between Constantine and Maxentius at the Milvian bridge (now the Ponte Molle) on the Tiber, in Rome. According to Eusebius of Caesarea, Constantine had a vision before the battle of a flaming cross in the sky, inscribed with the words "In this sign thou shalt conquer." Constantine took up the sign and was victorious in battle. The event, signifying the triumph of Christianity, inspired many painters in the seventeenth century, from Rubens to Salvator Rosa.

In the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, is a signed, slightly smaller version dated 1655 (Gueorguievskaja and Kouznetsova, 1980, colorpl. 8) that is identical to the painting at

Richmond. That the painting in the Soviet Union was painted for Cardinal Fabio Chigi (1599-1667) is evident from the *Liber Veritatis* (137; Kitson, 1978); the subject is a particularly appropriate one for a commission from a cardinal. The canvas at Richmond is signed, but the last figure of the date, without doubt a 5, is hard to decipher. Is the Richmond canvas an early copy of the Moscow original, as Michael Kitson maintains? Or is the Richmond canvas an autograph work, as Roethlisberger maintains? Only direct comparison of the two works will resolve this question. The painting at Moscow does, however, have a pendant, the *Seascape with the Rape of Europa* (Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 204, ill.), also in the Pushkin Museum. And in the British royal collections is a replica of the pendant, signed and dated 1667 (idem, no. 243, ill), the authenticity of which has never been questioned. Admittedly, the replica, unlike the Richmond painting, varies slightly from the painting at Moscow; nevertheless, we would like to suggest that within the interval of a few years, Claude himself copied both paintings — a practice that would not have been new to him. For the Richmond painting, Claude still had the first version in his possession, which would explain the absence of variations. For the painting at Buckingham Palace, however, he used the drawing in the *Liber Veritatis*, which would explain the variations between that painting (*Seascape with the Rape of Europa*) and the version at Moscow.

The historical scene provides Claude with a new pretext to depict groups of terrified, fleeing people within the larger framework of nature, represented here by majestic trees, the sunlit sea, sails rocking gently in the breeze, and in the distance a mountain and the fortress of a town. The scene is not centered but rather shifted to the right, a compositional device that may be understood in light of the pendant, whose vanishing point is to the left.

Claude plays on an opposition, seen frequently in his paintings, between the agitation of humanity and the calm majesty of nature. He delights in reducing the dimensions of the humans as if to insist, despite the importance and the stakes of the battle, on the vanity of their quarrels and thus to better show the grandeur and beauty of the trees and the sea. As is his wont, he favors eternal and immutable nature, and it is to nature that he devotes his attention and all his love.

62.**

View from Delphi with a Procession

Canvas, 101.5 × 127 cm

Signature at lower right is almost illegible today: *CLAV DIO*.

Provenance: Painted in 1673 for Cardinal Camillo Massimo (1620-1676); given by the cardinal to his younger brother Fabio Camillo



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(d. 1686). Possibly bought in Rome c. 1690 by Count Melfort, British ambassador, and, if so, probably part of the Melfort sale of 21 June 1693 at Whitehall. Humphrey Edwin collection, 1746-1750; sold by his widow to the count of Derby; counts of Derby collection until 1940; Derby sale, Christie's, London, 26 July 1940, no. 9, for 126 guineas; [Rothschild]; [Arnold Seligman and Rey, New York]; The Art Institute of Chicago, 1941.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1854, no. 49; Nottingham, 1878, no. 91; New York, Wildenstein, 1968-1969, no. 9, ill.; Washington-Paris, forthcoming [1982-1983], no. 50.

Bibliography: Smith, 1837 (VIII) p. 295, no. 182; Borenius, 1940, p. 195, pl. before p. 173; *The Art Institute of Chicago Annual Report*, 1941, pp. 11, 177, ill.; Mus. cat., 1961, p. 172, ill. p. 230; Roethlisberger, 1961 (I) pp. 428-430, no. 182 (II) fig. 296; Haskell, 1963, p. 118, n. 5, pl. 19b (1980, rev. ed.); Roethlisberger, 1966, pp. 84-95, ill.; Roethlisberger, 1968 (I) pp. 389-390, under nos. 1057-1059; Kennedy, 1972, pp. 265-266, pl. 426 (detail); Roethlisberger, 1975, no. 258, ill.; Coekelberghs, 1976, fig. 83 bis; Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 258, ill.; Mus. cat. (*100 Masterpieces*) 1978, p. 64, colorpl. 26 (reversed); Kitson, 1978, p. 166.

The Art Institute of Chicago
Robert A. Waller Memorial Fund

Carlo Camillo Massimo (1620-1676) commissioned Claude Lorrain to paint five paintings, all with secular subjects. The first three (*Liber Veritatis* 86, 99, 118) were painted between 1644 and 1649, when the young prelate was private chamberlain to Pope Innocent X. The other two (*Liber Veritatis* 182, 184) were painted between 1673 and 1674, shortly after his relative, Clement X, had elevated him to the position of cardinal. Cardinal Massimo, a well-informed connoisseur of the arts and a passionate collector, was a long-standing friend of Poussin, who in 1664 had given him the *Apollo in Love with Daphne*, his last painting, now in the Louvre. The cardinal himself probably chose the subject for the painting at Chicago, as well as that of its pendant, the famous *Coast View with Perseus and the Origin of Coral*, now at Holkham Hall (Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 260, ill.). The theme of the latter work may be found in Ovid's *Metamor-*

phoses; the inspiration for the Chicago canvas is provided by a passage in the *Historiae Philippicae* (Book 24, 6), in which the Roman historian Justin describes the temple of Apollo on Mount Parnassus, at Delphi. Claude had already painted a work (Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 177, ill.) with the same subject in 1650 for Prince Pamphili, nephew of Pope Innocent X, and it was probably the recollection of this painting (which has remained in the same collection since the seventeenth century) that prompted the cardinal to commission a similar one; for the *Coast View with Perseus*, on the other hand, he was inspired by Poussin's famous drawing of the subject, which he himself owned at the time and which is now at Windsor Castle.

The drawing at Windsor Castle and the one in the *Liber Veritatis* indicate that Claude began the *View from Delphi* in 1672 and finished it the following year, before he started work on its pendant, which was in all probability conceived at the same time. The two paintings are structurally balanced. The massive arched cliff at right in the *Coast View with Perseus* corresponds to Mount Parnassus at left in the *View from Delphi*; the shimmering sea complements the flowing river; the winged horse is analogous to the sacrificial bull. Although the colors of the Chicago painting have altered appreciably with time, particularly in the darker areas, the poetry of the composition remains undiminished.

The late work of Claude is imbued with a quality of almost surreal strangeness. Although the artist continued to recreate scenes from antiquity based on descriptions in scholarly works (Kennedy, 1972), he painted, above all, idealized landscapes of great evocative power, where dream and legend commingle.

63.*

Landscape with Jacob's Journey to Canaan

Canvas, 71 × 95 cm

Signed and dated, lower left : CLAVDIO IVF ROMA 1677

Provenance: Painted for the "abbé Chevallie," probably Dominique Chevalier (1620-1691), prelate of Saint-Martin, Tours, buried in the Trinità dei Monti, Rome (Frascarelli, 1870, pp. 224-225; Roethlisberger, 1961, 1975, and 1977), rather than the Benedictine Damien-Ignace Chevallier, abbé d'Enon, département of Mayenne (Roethlisberger, 1968). Robert Strange collection, probably after 1769; Strange sale, Christie's, London, 6 Mar. 1773, no. 115 (according to a letter written by Horace Walpole dated 12 Mar. 1773 [Toynbee, ed., 1914 (VIII) p. 253]); the painting was very probably acquired at this sale by Count Chesterfield; remained in the Chesterfield collection until 1918; sale of the fifth earl of Carnarvon, his descendant, Christie's, London, 31 May 1918, no. 97; [Leggatt];



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[Colnaghi]; sold to Robert Sterling Clark in 1918; Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1955.

Exhibitions: Derby, 1870, no. 213; Williamstown, 1955, no. 42, pl. 27; Williamstown, 1958, pl. 6; New York, Wildenstein, 1967, no. 3.

Bibliography: Smith, 1837 (VIII) pp. 299-300, no. 189; Roethlisberger, 1961 (I) pp. 444-445, no. 189 (II) fig. 309; Roethlisberger, 1968 (I) pp. 403-404, under nos. 1097-1098; Mus. cat., 1972, p. 22, no. 42, ill.; Roethlisberger, 1975, no. 267, ill. and colorpl. LXII; Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 267, ill., and colorpl. LXII; Kitson, 1978, p. 171.

Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown

The drawing of the painting in the *Liber Veritatis* (Kitson, 1978) bears an inscription by Claude, written — as was often the case — in a delightful mixture of Italian and French: *quadro facto per monsieur // labbe Chevallie A Roma // ce 14 mars 1677 // Claudio Gillee fecit*. The inscription gives the name of the first owner of the painting, although questions about his identity remain (see Provenance). As with so many of Claude's paintings, the canvas was then in England for almost two centuries. It was acquired by Robert Sterling Clark in 1918.

The composition is a fairly faithful rendition of a canvas by Claude painted some thirty years earlier, which is now in Budapest (Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 172, ill.). The important distinction between the two works, however, is that the Budapest canvas is simply a pastoral scene, without specific subject, whereas the Williamstown canvas has a biblical theme, the shepherd having been transformed into Jacob leading his flock toward Canaan. The camels in the background at right confirm the religious nature of the work, an essential element in light of its being an ecclesiastical commission.

The work, executed five years before Claude's death, is one of the artist's last works. Once again, its subject matter is trees, animals, the sky, light, air, and water. A hymn to nature, a happy and peaceful nature, the Williamstown canvas has an intimacy not always present in Claude's work. The simple composition and the theme treated in a pastoral

vein yet showing direct observation of nature serve to accentuate the reserved melancholy and delicate, serene poetry of the painting.

64.

Apollo and the Muses on Mount Helicon

Canvas, 98 × 135 cm

Signed and dated, lower center: *Claudio iv fecit 1680* (last digit difficult to read)

Provenance: (For the most essential information concerning the provenance of this painting, see Roethlisberger, 1961.) Painted for Prince Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1637-1689), constabale of the kingdom of Naples; still in the Colonna gallery in 1787 (Ramdohr, 1787 [II] p. 78); acquired in Rome by Sloane in 1802, the year of his death; sent to England by the Sloane family; [Sloane] sale, Coxe, London, 2 June 1804, no. 71, but bought back; acquired by Buchanan c. 1808 and sold by him to Walsh Porter (d. 1809 or 1810); acquired by Holwell Carr, owner of the work in 1812 (according to the inscription under the Dubourg aquatint that appeared that year); [Carr?] sale, Christie's, London, 6 Apr. 1816, no. 92; belonged to Eynard or Aynard, Paris, in 1824 (Buchanan, 1824 [II] p. 117; see also pp. 371 and 112); brought back to England by Smith and sold at Stanley in 1827; Edward Gray collection, acquired at Gray sale (according to Waagen, 1854) by Wynn Ellis; Wynn Ellis sale, Christie's, London, 17 June 1876, no. 6; William Graham collection, Christie's, London, 9 Apr. 1886, no. 376; W. Grindlay collection, Christie's, London, 23 Apr. 1887, no. 99; T. H. Ward collection; [his?] sale, Christie's, London, 28 June 1890, no. 95; acquired [by Agnew]; Sir William James Farrar collection, his sale, Christie's, London, 23 Mar. 1912, no. 5; bought in Paris by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1912.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1854, no. 53; London, 1891, no. 97; Washington-Toledo-New York, 1960, no. 83, ill.; Amherst, 1974, no. 19.

Bibliography: Smith, 1837 (VIII) p. 302, no. 193; Waagen, 1854 (II) p. 294; J. G[uiffrey], 1913, p. 9, ill.; Roethlisberger, 1961 (I) pp. 451-454 (II) fig. 314; Mus. cat., 1964, p. 252, fig. p. 253; Roethlisberger, 1968 (I) pp. 393-395, under nos. 1070-1074, and pp. 409-410, under nos. 1113-1114; Roethlisberger, 1975, no. 271, ill.; Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 271, ill.; Kitson, 1978, pp. 173-174.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Picture Fund

At first glance, the work appears to be based upon Raphael's traditional representation of Apollo and the Muses on Mount Parnassus. However, the presence of Pegasus at the right suggests rather that the scene is situated on Mount Helicon, for it was on Mount Helicon that the winged horse, who had sprung from the blood of the Medusa beheaded by Perseus, had, by kicking the side of a rock, caused



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Hippocrene (clearly visible in the Boston canvas), fount of the Muses, to gush forth.

The canvas, which is extremely well known, was commissioned by Claude's last and most important patron, the conestabile Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (Haskell, 1963, pp. 155-156), who in 1661 had married Mazarin's niece, Marie Mancini. According to the *Liber Veritatis*, Colonna owned no fewer than eight paintings by Claude painted between 1663 and 1680, among them the *Landscape with Psyche and the Palace of Amor* (the *Enchanted Castle*; Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 233, colorpl. XLII), recently acquired by the National Gallery, London. It is likely that Colonna also owned the *Minerva Visiting the Muses on Parnassus*, now in the Cummer Gallery of Art, Jacksonville (Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 273, colorpl. LXIV; see Inventory), the drawing of which is the final entry in the *Liber Veritatis*. And he owned as well Claude's last painting, the very moving *Landscape with Ascanius Shooting the Stag of Silvia*, now at Oxford (Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 247, ill.); Claude's approaching death prevented his copying this work into the *Liber Veritatis*.

Claude in 1652 had painted a *Parnassus*, now at Edinburgh, for Cardinal Astalli (Roethlisberger, 1977, no. 194, ill.). We know from five extant drawings (Roethlisberger, 1968) that from 1674 he thought of returning to the theme and of slightly altering its meaning by the introduction of Pegasus. The painting at Boston, executed six years later, is the result of the artist's long reflection.

Because of his association with the Muses, Pegasus was for the ancients a symbol of inspiration. Claude translates this theme into a visual image of subtly nuanced greens that range from aquamarine to malachite, from violet blue to olive. Only the white of the seven swans and the red of Clio's cloak break the monochromatic palette. The miraculous success of the painting resides once again in the union between air and water, man and nature, in the ingenuity and daring with which the aging Claude approaches one of the most glorious themes in art, that of inspiration and the immortality it confers upon those it has chosen.

MAÎTRE À LA CHANDELLE The Candlelight Master

The problematical case of Bigot is typical of the challenge that confronts the art historian: In 1960 several Caravaggesque night scenes that had been incorrectly attributed to Honthorst, to Stomer, and to Georges de La Tour, but that formed a stylistically coherent group, were attributed by Benedict Nicolson to a painter he called the Candlelight Master. Boyer (1964, 1965) proposed a tentative identification of this artist as a native of Aix living in Rome, Sandrart's mysterious "Trufemondi," Trophime Bigot.

Although accepted for a time, this attribution proved awkward because the pictures signed by Bigot in Provence after 1634 and those painted in Rome between 1620 and 1630 are stylistically quite different. As a result of this discrepancy, two Bigots were created (Nicolson, 1972, p. 117; Thuillier, La Tour exh. cat., p. 47; Marseilles exh. cat., 1978): Bigot the Elder, who was born at Arles in 1579 and died after 1649 and was responsible for the Provençal paintings, and his son, who was active in Rome between 1620 and 1634 and was the author of the group of works by the Candlelight Master. This hypothesis has recently been challenged by Jean-Pierre Cuzin (1979), who discerns two hands in the group of works painted in Rome by Bigot the Younger — that of Trophime Bigot and that of an unidentified artist responsible for the majority of works by the Candlelight Master. Blunt (1979[2]) does not accept this thesis and maintains that the standard attribution is correct. Thus, if one accepts the revisions proposed by Cuzin, after twenty years of archival research, several exhibitions, and the publication of many articles, it is still not clear whether the Candlelight Master and Bigot are one and the same, or whether he is French — which we think he is — or Northern European, as the strong influence of Honthorst, Stomer, and Adam de Coster on the artist's work might lead one to believe. And the link between his works and those of La Tour remains a mystery.

In any case, the artist has a defined artistic personality most evident in his depictions of figures in half-length and in secular scenes illuminated by the flame of a candle or that of a lamp. His more ambitious nocturnal scenes, which depict religious subjects, are somewhat weak in handling and cannot compete with those of Honthorst or, of course, those of La Tour. They are the work of a good painter who followed a tradition without concerning himself with the reshaping of it, a painter for whom luminism was an end in itself, a formula rather than a means of expression.

65.

Young Boy Singing

Canvas, 67.5 × 49.5 cm



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Provenance: Heinigke collection, New York; [Arnold Seligmann and Rey, New York, until 1946]; California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1946 (since 1972, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco).

Exhibitions: Santa Barbara, 1951, no. 3, ill.; Ann Arbor-Grand Rapids, 1951-1952, no. 37; Long Beach, Municipal Art Center, 1952 (no cat.); Fort Worth, 1954, no. 22.

Bibliography: *Art News*, Sept. 1946, p. 8, ill.; *Mus. cat.*, 1946, p. 49, ill.; H[owe], 1946, pp. 34-43, pl. p. 34; Sterling, 1951, p. 155, n. 10; Nicolson, 1960, p. 130 and n. 27, pp. 143-144, 159-160, fig. 20, p. 159; Nicolson, 1964, pp. 121, 132, no. 40, pl. 36 and p. 139; Nicolson, 1965, pp. 71, 94, 105, no. 40, pl. 19; Thuillier, 1973, no. D 18, ill. (French ed.); Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 18, 240 (Italian ed.) pp. 18, 248 (French ed.); Marseilles (exh. cat.) 1978, p. 164; Nicolson, 1979, p. 22.

The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
Collis P. Huntington Memorial Collection, 1946.2

Acquired in 1946 with an attribution proposed by Walter Friedlaender to Georges de La Tour, which was challenged in 1951 by Charles Sterling (as an early work of Matthias Stomer), the painting was attributed by Benedict Nicolson in 1960 to the Candlelight Master. Like all the works in the group, it was later attributed in turn to Trophime Bigot, to Bigot the Younger, and again to the mysterious Candlelight Master.

In spite of its poor condition, the work is among the artist's most charming. A young boy reads a musical score, which is rendered transparent by the light of an oil lamp. The painting forms a group with four canvases in the Doria Gallery, Rome (see Rome-Paris exh. cat., 1973-1974, pp. 18-19, ill.; p. 21): *Young Male Singer*, *Young Female Singer*, *Boy Holding a Bat*, and *Boy Pouring Oil into a Lamp*. (The *Flea Picker* from the same museum [Marseilles exh. cat., 1978, no. 10] is larger and has a greater sense of realism.)

The Candlelight Master achieves, with the flame of the lamp, effects of light that are almost sensuous and that accentuate the shadows and deformed volumes. Thus, the handle of the lamp and its shadow acquire a somewhat alarming appearance. His mouth wide open, the youth wearing a turban concentrates on his reading. His melancholy and dream-filled expression shows that the Candlelight Master is occasionally able to rise to the work of the best luminist artists of his time, such as Stomer and Honthorst, and is indeed capable of invention and poesy.

[Du ?] MÉLEZET (?)

Very little is known about this artist. The inscription that was on the back of the Bowl of Strawberries (No. 66) and seems to have been rather carelessly deciphered indicated that he was in Grenoble in 1639. But there is no evidence that he lived in that city, nor is there anything to substantiate that his name was correctly read. In any event, he appears to have been acquainted with the work of Stoskopff, Garnier, and Moillon. If he did in fact live in Grenoble, he was not the only still-life painter there, since other examples of the genre are known, one depicting a basket of grapes — a large work signed and dated 1660 — and two depicting baskets of fruit, one of which is signed and dated 1661 by Paul Dorival, an artist born in Grenoble in 1604. On the contrary, everything leads us to believe that the artist who painted the Bowl of Strawberries was familiar with Paris and knew the most recent work of the still-life painters of that city.

66.

Bowl of Strawberries

Panel, 34.5 × 56 cm

Provenance: [Weinberger, Paris, 1937]; [Arnold Seligmann and Rey, New York, 1938]; [Harry G. Sperling, New York, 1946]; [Kleinberger, New York, 1947]; Mrs. William R. Elsas, Atlanta, now Mrs. Francis Storza.

Exhibitions: Hartford, 1938, no. 64, ill.; New York, 1946, no. 31, pl. p. 53.

Bibliography: Benedict, 1948, p. 32, ill. p. 35; Benedict, 1962, p. 44 with ill.; Faré, 1962 (I) pp. 90, 324, n. 289 (II) pl. 129; Thuillier and Châtelet, 1964, pp. 41-42; Faré, 1974, p. 45, pl. p. 146.

Mrs. Francis Storza Collection, Atlanta, Georgia

The painting on wood was cradled before 1946. The inscription originally on the back of the work but today no



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longer legible has been given two readings, one by the author of the catalogue entry for the New York exhibition of 1946 and another by Curt Benedict (1948, 1962). Let us try as far as possible to reconcile the two transcriptions: "Du Mélezet painted these strawberries the first days of the month of October 1639, the king being at Grenoble. The natural fruit was gathered from the mountain of the Grande Chartreuse by a peasant who chose them specifically with the plants, fruits, and flowers just as you see them in this painting. Mélezet."

There is no indication from the inscription that [Du?] Mélezet came from Grenoble. On the contrary, he may well have followed Louis XIII on his journey to Grenoble, where the king remained, accompanied by Richelieu, from 21 September to 9 October 1639. The aim of his journey was to consolidate the authority of his sister Chrétienne de Savoie, widow of the duc de Savoie, Victor-Amédée, which was contested by his two brothers-in-law. The Treaty of Paris in June 1642 settled this affair to the benefit of France.

If the artist chose to paint these wild strawberries with their flowers and leaves, it was not only for aesthetic reasons but also (and the inscription on the back makes this very clear) to remind us of the exceptional nature of the strawberries, gathered by a peasant in early October on the mountain slopes of the Grande Chartreuse, not far from Grenoble.

The artist, whom we can hardly believe to have been an amateur, was surely acquainted with the latest developments of Parisian still life. A painting such as Louise Moillon's *Bowl of Strawberries* (1634; Faré, 1974, pl. p. 62) or still lifes of the same subject by François Garnier (1637; idem, pl. p. 44) or Stoskopff in the Strasbourg Museum (idem, pl. p. 116) could not have left [Du?] Mélezet indifferent; his work has in common with theirs the same discrete, severe poetry, the same observational acuity, the same careful attention to truth. [Du?] Mélezet appears, however, to give greater importance than his colleagues to light, a light that is cold and that chisels out each flower and highlights each leaf. The

presence of the fly at center, on the edge of the table, provides an added note of realism, a device not infrequent in the history of painting, particularly in the works of still-life painters concerned with *trompe-l'œil* effects.

MELLIN Charles

(1597 ? Nancy; Rome 1649)

In 1630, Charles Mellin, who had been in Rome since 1622, competed successfully against Poussin and Lanfranco and was given the commission for the decoration of a chapel in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome. He worked in Monte Cassino (1636-1637; the decoration was destroyed during the last war) and in Naples (1641?-1647), where he painted an *Assumption* and an *Annunciation*, both at Santa Maria Donna Regina.

After three centuries of neglect, Mellin's name is today becoming increasingly well known. The research of Jacques Bousquet has enabled us to follow more closely the artist's career; rediscovered paintings (Saint Francis de Paule in Prayer, now in the Musée Lorrain, Nancy; Schleier, 1976) show Mellin to have been a close disciple of Vouet's and Lanfranco's. Many drawings prove that his work was rapidly absorbed into that of Poussin, but the attempt (Doris Wild) to attribute to Mellin a number of works by Poussin has not been generally accepted.

Jacques Thuillier's study in the *Actes du Colloque sur les fondations françaises de la Rome pontificale* (forthcoming) offers a new assessment of Mellin's life and work. Among the better painters of the French colony in Rome, he was nicknamed "Carlo Lorenese" by his contemporaries, who regarded him, perhaps in a somewhat exaggerated manner, as the equal of "Claudio Lorenese" and "Nicola Poussin."

67.

The Assumption of the Virgin

Canvas, 98 × 103 cm

Provenance: Schleier (1976, pp. 842-843, n. 48) prudently advances the hypothesis that the work could be confused with "*Assunzione della Vergine de Simon Wovest*," mentioned in 1829 in a Torlonia inventory. J. S. Harford collection, Blaise Castle (Gloucestershire), in 1854 and 1857; Seymour Maynard, London; [Abercorn] sale, Christie's, London, 29 Jan. 1954, no. 121 ("Guido Reni"); on the Rome art market in 1956 [Sestieri]; Museo de Arte de Ponce, 1958.

Exhibitions: Manchester, 1857, no. 338 ("Guido Reni").

Bibliography: Waagen, 1854 (III) p. 190 ("Guido Reni"); Mus. cat., 1965, pp. 191-192, fig. 87 ("attributed to Simon Vouet"); Wild,



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1966, pp. 209, 213, n. 29, fig. 34; Schleier, 1967, p. 276 and n. 23; Wittkower, 1967; p. 188, p. 189, fig. 12; Rosenberg, Florence (exh. cat.) 1968, pp. 30-31; Wild, 1971, p. 351; Blunt, 1974, p. 762; Schleier, 1976, pp. 842-844, fig. 81; Wild, 1980 (II) p. 227, ill.; Thuillier, 1981, p. 610, p. 643, fig. 31.

Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico
The Luis A. Ferré Foundation

Doris Wild attributed this work to Charles Mellin in 1966. After having been given to Guido Reni for over a century, the painting was attributed between 1958, the date of its acquisition by Ponce, and 1965, the date of Julius S. Held's excellent catalogue of that museum, first to Vouet, then to a collaborator of Poussin's, to Lanfranco, and finally to Perrier, a list of names that alone indicates, far better than any commentary, the influences that converge in Mellin's work.

Held (1965) refers to several drawings representing the Assumption of the Virgin that can be related to the painting. Over the years, the number of known related drawings has increased: apart from the six sheets in the Uffizi (Rosenberg, 1968) are those in Vienna (two), in Turin, in Budapest, and the copies published by Schleier (1976). Of all these sheets, the unpublished one (Paris art market) is the most important and the closest in its composition to the canvas at Ponce. In fact, the differences between the two works are so minute that we may assume the drawing served as a sketch for the painting. The drawing, squared for transfer, shows the Virgin and the angels placed within an architectural frame open to the sky, a frame that itself is also *da sotto in su*, indicating that the work at Ponce is the *modello* for the central panel of the vault of a chapel, perhaps that of San Luigi dei Francesi. The date proposed by Schleier (1976), about 1628, is convincing, although 1629-1631 might be more accurate.

Although the influence of both Lanfranco and Vouet, even more than that of Poussin, is evident in this work, Mellin nevertheless sought to assert his own artistic personality. The fluid and unctuous brushwork, the red and intense blue of the Virgin's garments, and the rhythmic, skillfully controlled composition indicate the independence of spirit of the young painter. The round mass formed by the Virgin and supporting angels pierces the sky with a dynamism rare in seventeenth-century painting from Rome.

MIGNARD Nicolas

(1606 Troyes; Paris 1668)

Nicolas Mignard, the elder brother of Pierre, was trained at Troyes, Fontainebleau, and Paris (possibly in Simon Vouet's studio). The most important part of his career was at Avignon, where he settled in 1632. Unlike his brother, he remained only two years in Italy (1635-1637). He went to Paris in 1660. Elected to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1663, he devoted himself primarily to the decoration of the Tuileries.

Most of Nicolas Mignard's portraits are today known only through engravings, and his principal mythological works are lost (an exception is No. 68), but his drawings (an important group was acquired by the Louvre in 1978) and his religious compositions (Avignon and surrounding region) deserve our attention.

The artist created ample, generously articulated compositions, tranquil in mood and classical in style, with deep, sustained colors. A sort of French Guercino, Nicolas Mignard has been brilliantly restored to favor by Antoine Schnapper (Avignon exh. cat., 1979).

68.

The Shepherd Faustulus Bringing Romulus and Remus to His Wife

Canvas, 150.5 × 146.5 cm

Signed in capital letters and dated, at left near center: .N. MIGNARD. INV. ET // PINXIT AVEN // 1654

Provenance: The similarity of the Dallas painting to the work described below leads us to believe that they are one and the same: Galerie de l'Universelle, Paris, 13-15 Mar. 1893, no. 158 (under the name Pierre Mignard), "Romulus and Remus and the shepherd Faustulus. The shepherd Faustulus carries, in a blue sheet, the two children from the she-wolf: his dog which accompanies them sniffs at them with sympathy. Two women on the left stretch out their arms in a gesture of curiosity and maternal affection. In the background, at the entrance to a hut, on the roof of which two white doves have come to rest, an old woman looks at the two children



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from a distance. Canvas, 1,47; 1,36." Private collection, France; [Wildenstein, New York]; Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, 1970.

Exhibitions: Avignon, 1979, no. 52, ill., and pp. 33, 130 (not exhibited).

Bibliography: *The Art Quarterly*, no. 1, 1972, p. 83, ill. p. 90; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1972, p. 85, fig. 298; Schnapper, Marseilles (exh. cat.) 1978, p. 181; Mus. cat. (Anne Bromberg) 1979, p. 80, fig. 81.

Dallas Museum of Fine Arts

Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Algur H. Meadows and the Meadows Foundation, Inc.

Antoine Schnapper was able to identify two drawings by Nicolas Mignard (Avignon exh. cat., 1979, p. 84, both ill.) for the Dallas painting: a study squared for transfer of the entire work, and a study of drapery used for the garments of the woman at the left, who holds out her arms to Romulus and Remus. These two drawings, originally in the collection of the painter's family, were acquired by the Louvre in 1978 together with a group of sheets by Nicolas Mignard. Antoine Schnapper also mentions a replica or early copy of the Dallas painting in a private collection at Avignon.

The Dallas painting is dated 1654. Two other paintings are known that bear this date: the *Death of Saint Joseph*, in the chapel of the hospital of Sainte-Marthe, Avignon, and an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, in the Church of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, also at Avignon. Each of the three works has full-length figures in the foreground, a rhythmical composition with ample volumes, and strong sustained colors.

The Dallas canvas is distinguished from the works at Avignon by its secular subject, one of the few such subjects treated by Nicolas Mignard that are known. The theme of Romulus and Remus, although not unknown in the seventeenth century (it was treated by the Carracci, Pietro da

Cortona, and Rubens), was uncommon, especially in France (for a seventeenth-century drawing in the Worcester Art Museum, see Toronto exh. cat., 1972, no. 156). The figures in the Dallas canvas stand before a beautiful hilly landscape. The welcoming gesture of Acca Laruntia, the adoptive mother, the compassionate expression of Faustulus, the doves alighting on the cottage roof, and the friendly presence of the affectionate dog lend to the work a feeling of warmth and pastoral charm.

That the canvas was painted at Avignon — a fact emphasized by Mignard in his signature — is evidence of the artistic vitality both of provincial France and of Provence in the seventeenth century.

MIGNARD Pierre

(1612 Troyes; Paris 1695)

It is difficult to write an objective biography of Pierre Mignard, since the artist continues to be misunderstood and his significance contested. The forthcoming monograph by Jean-Claude Boyer should put an end to what remains one of the great injustices in the history of art.

A student of Jean Boucher's at Bourges and of Simon Vouet's, Mignard went to Italy in 1635, where he rejoined his old friend the painter and theoretician Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy. Little is known of his twenty years in Rome, although he seems to have risen to fame fairly rapidly after his reputation was established through his numerous paintings of the Virgin and Child, the celebrated "Mignardes." He returned to France in 1657 and was greatly admired for his often flattering portraits of women, his several ceiling paintings for private Paris residences (all now lost), and the decoration of the cupola of the Church of the Val-de-Grâce (1663). Mignard established himself as a rival of Le Brun's, but it was not until twenty years later, after Colbert had died, that he was able to receive the important commissions to which he aspired (Petite Galerie and adjoining salons at Versailles, 1684, all now destroyed). Mignard succeeded Le Brun after the latter's death in 1690, assuming all his responsibilities and leading an extraordinarily active life during his last five years.

The work of Pierre Mignard has, nevertheless, largely disappeared. The three hundred drawings in the Louvre all date from 1690 to 1695. His portraits are generally no longer attributed to him (let us mention, as an example, the superb Portrait of François de Barbezieux, in a private New York collection); the great decorations have been destroyed; and the mythological and historical pictures have been overpainted. The work that survives, however, testifies to the refinement and cultivated nature of the artist and the influence of such artists as Albani and Domenichino. Often criticized for their sweetness, Mignard's works attract us as much by the compelling strangeness of their palette as by their richness of invention.

The Children of the Duc de Bouillon

Canvas, 89 × 119 cm

Inscription in capital letters, lower right: ROMÆ. 1647// ..IVNII DIE V (certain early catalogues indicate VI)

Provenance: Alexandre-Marie Aguado collection, marqués de las Marismas (1784-1842), château du Petit-Bourg, near Paris (Aguado coll. cat., Paris, 1837, p. 83, no. 348, and Paris, 1839, no. 339); Aguado sale, Paris, 26 Apr. 1840, no. 225 (sold for 172 francs); [Arteau] collection, château d'Azay-le-Rideau, Paris sale, 13-14 May 1901, no. 128, pl. p. 122 (9,000 francs [to Kleinberger]); Mme Ernest de Weerth (née Baltzell) collection, a native of Baltimore, in Paris until her death in 1932; property of her son Ernest, painter and musician, who lent it to the Baltimore Museum of Art between 1932 and 1946. Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 6 Mar. 1975, no. 39, color ill., and colorpl. on cover; Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1975.

Exhibitions: Baltimore, 1941, p. 53, fig. 48.

Bibliography: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Mar. 1976, p. 41, fig. 158; Rudolph, 1979, p. 18, n. 13; Zeri, 1979, pp. 89, 91, fig. 10.

Honolulu Academy of Arts

Purchase, Robert Allerton Fund, 1975

Although the inscription at the lower right corner clearly states that the picture was painted in Rome in 1647, there is nothing to indicate the identification either of the artist or the models.

During the nineteenth century, particularly when it was in the collection of Alexandre-Marie Aguado, marqués de las Marismas, the well-known financier and collector of Spanish paintings, the work was attributed to Constantin Netscher. During the first half of this century, it was attributed to J. B. or Jan Weenix and was thought to portray the children of Charles I. Not until 1975 was it sold (at public sale, in New York) under the name of Pierre Mignard. Then, following its acquisition by Honolulu, it was reattributed by several American and Italian specialists (verbally or in writing) to the Bolognese painter Pier Francesco Cittadini (1616-1681). Only Federico Zeri (and we take due note of the weight of his opinion) has published the painting under this attribution. The attribution is not, however, accepted by Renato Roli, the best Cittadini specialist (in a written communication to us). Roli regrets this, since the attribution, had it been proved, would have confirmed that the Bolognese artist had stayed in Rome in 1647.

A somewhat mediocre drawing in the Orléans Museum (Drawings cat., 1953, p. 31, no. 82) led to the identification of the models; the rapid sketch in red chalk is a faithful copy of the Honolulu painting. It is inscribed as follows: *les enfans de Monsieur le duc de Bouillion* (sic), *la fille est très belle // asgée de treize ans, et deux beaux pettis garçons 4 ans. Ce tableau // est fort plaisant et vestu de l'abillament fort Riche, mademoiselle // tient des*



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fleurs et des fruits dans son tablié et le petit qui lui en a prix // qui se joue avec un petit chien de boulongne des plus beaux. Our investigation of the duc de Bouillon (1605-1652) and his family confirms the accuracy of the inscription. Frédéric-Maurice Godefroy de La Tour d'Auvergne, duc de Bouillon, had departed for Italy in March 1644, summoned by Pope Urban VIII, to serve as generalissimo in the war of the duchy of Castro. (It is likely that he was seeking forgiveness for his rebellion against Louis XIII and Richelieu.) According to Du Val, he was accompanied by his wife and children (*Relation du voyage fait à Rome par Monsieur le duc de Bouillon*, Paris, 1656; this work, and much of the information relating to the provenance to the Honolulu painting, has been generously provided by Jean-Claude Boyer). The eldest child, Elisabeth de La Tour, born 11 May 1635, was twelve years old in 1647; Godefroy-Maurice, born in 1641, was six; and Frédéric-Maurice, born in 1642, was five. According to Du Val, the duc de Bouillon left Rome on 25 May 1647. It must therefore be supposed (assuming that the date, 5 June 1647, inscribed on the canvas is correct) that the duc's children remained in Rome.

The Orléans drawing is attributed to Pierre Mignard: by 1647 he had been in Rome for a dozen years and was among the most fashionable portrait painters. Urban VIII, Innocent X, and leading Roman families sat for him (Monville, 1731 ed., pp. 11-22). Nicolas Poussin, in a letter dated 2 August 1648, wrote to his friend Chantelou: "I would have had my portrait painted by now to send to you... but it annoys me to pay out ten pistoles for a head in the style of Mignard, who, to my knowledge, is the best qualified, although his portraits are cold, faded, artificial, and have neither fluency nor vigor" (Jouanny, 1911 ed., pp. 386-387). It would therefore have been quite natural for a great Frenchman passing through Rome to call on a well-known compatriot to paint a portrait of his children, especially since in 1647 the duc was in contact with Mignard (Huart, 1970, p. 138).

The importance of the work is underscored by the fact that the known dated canvases of Mignard's Roman period are

few: the male portraits at Prague (1654; Wilhelm, 1962, p. 167, fig. 2) and at Malta (1653; Rosenberg, 1971, p. 99, fig. 1), both later than the Honolulu painting, have greater stylistic sobriety and compositional vigor, which can be explained by their subject matter.

Mignard here creates an atmosphere of elegance and grace. The lavish garments of the children, the playful gesture of the youngest, who offers cherries to a King Charles spaniel, the young girl's apron filled with flowers and fruits, her dreamy expression and lovely yellow dress, the chubby little boys in their finery testify to the maturity of the artist's talent. With such lively, pleasing work it is not difficult to understand Mignard's success in Rome, the cosmopolitan city of the popes. Indeed, he established a formula for elegant portraits that considerably influenced Maratta, Voet, and other young artists working in Rome.

70.**

Christ and the Woman of Samaria

Canvas, 122 × 160 cm

Signed in capital letters and dated, lower left: P. MIGNARD. PINXIT // PARISIIS. 1681.

Provenance: Painted for Mlle de Guise (1615-1688) in 1681 (Macon, 1900 and 1903); she is said to have paid "300 pistoles" for it; appears in Mlle de Guise's testament dated 6 Feb. 1686: "39. I leave to M. d'Armagnac, Grand Écuyer de France, my *Virgin* by Raphael and my *Woman of Samaria* by Mignard" (Brièle, 1887); mentioned in the inventory (drawn up after her death) begun on 15 Mar. 1688: "644. Item. A large painting... depicting the *Woman of Samaria*... valued at the sum of 2,000 livres" (Langlois, 1922); collection of Louis de Lorraine, comte d'Armagnac (1641-1718), from 1688. Earl Waldegrave collection, Prestage sale, London, 16 Nov. 1763, no. 37 (acquired by Brown for 71 pounds 8, according to Graves, 1921; 63 pounds according to the catalogue in the Rijksbureau, The Hague). Duke of Westminster collection, from 1857; Christie's, London, 4 July 1924, no. 20 [acquired by Brunner]; [Wildenstein, Paris and New York, since at least 1925]; North Carolina Museum of Art, 1952.

Exhibitions: Manchester, 1857, no. 972; Paris, 1925, no. 212; New York, 1940, no. 62, ill. p. 47; New York, 1946, no. 36, ill.; New Orleans, 1953-1954, no. 16; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, *French Painting — The 17th Century*, 1961 (no cat.).

Bibliography: Bürger [pseud. (Thore)], 1865, p. 336; Brièle, 1887, pp. 180, 190; Macon, 1900, p. 220 (also published as a book, 1903, p. 6); Graves, 1921 (II) p. 223; Langlois, 1922, p. 99, nn. 5, 112; *Le Paysage français de Poussin à Corot*, Paris, 1926, p. 128 (*ouvrage collectif* published after the Paris exhibition of 1925); Peyre, 1946, p. 65, ill.; Chastel, 1951, p. 245; Mus. cat. (Valentiner) 1956, p. 71, no. 155, pl. 155; Sandoz, 1960 (II) p. 282 and n. 5; Dijon-Lyons (exh. cat.) 1964, under no. 25.

North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh



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For the first time, a satisfactory historical account of the *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*, Mignard's most important work in the United States, can be written, thanks to the research, kindly made available to us, of Jean-Claude Boyer (as yet unpublished). A letter from M. de Saint-Mars sent from Versailles, addressed to the Grand Condé and dated 24 June 1681 (Macon, 1900, 1903) tells us that "Mignard has painted a picture of the Woman of Samaria while our Lord spoke to her, which is generally admired. It was Mlle de Guise who commissioned it for 300 pistoles." The painting is mentioned in Mlle de Guise's will (1686), and in the inventory drawn up after her death it is valued at 2,000 livres, by far the highest value placed on any one picture in her collection. (A *Virgin* by Raphael is estimated at only 1,000 livres.) It should be noted, however, that the work had originally cost 3,000 livres. The *Woman of Samaria* was given by Mlle de Guise (the last surviving member of the illustrious de Guise family) to a close relative, Louis de Lorraine, comte d'Armagnac, grand écuyer de France, which explains why it does not appear in the sale of her collection (Archives Nationales, R4⁺ 1054, fol. 34 and 35 recto). Mlle de Guise also owned a copy of the Mignard painting; valued at 20 livres, it was sold for 105 livres and 10 sols at the sale of 29 May 1688 (*ibid.*, fol. 246 recto and verso). The links between Mignard and the de Guise family appear to have been close and of long standing. In Rome, Mignard executed a portrait of Mlle de Guise (engraved in 1684 by Antoine Masson), as well as one of Henri de Lorraine, duc de Guise (1614-1664). He painted the latter once again, in Paris, and also did a portrait of Louis-Joseph, duc de Guise (1650-1671). The *Woman of Samaria* in the eighteenth century was in England no later than 1763, and until 1924; the Raleigh Museum acquired the painting in 1925.

The letter from Saint-Mars, quoted above, ends with the following: "The king found [the *Woman of Samaria*] so

beautiful that he could not help showing that he would very much have liked to own it. That set things going, and I think he [sic, she] will make him a present of it." Although, in fact, Mlle de Guise kept the picture and later gave it to the grand écuyer de France, Louis XIV did not relinquish his plan to acquire his own *Woman of Samaria*. This is the small painting in the Louvre, signed and dated 1690 (Rosenberg, Reynaud, Compin, 1974 [II] no. 570, ill.; an original replica, dated 1691, is part of the Pavlosk collection), which Mignard had painted as a pendant to Domenichino's *Flight into Egypt*, already in the royal collections and today deposited by the Louvre in the Riom Museum (Borea, 1965, pl. 8).

It is tempting to compare the Raleigh canvas with the one in the Louvre. André Chastel (1951) suggested that the American canvas is "closer to Annibale Carracci" (who painted the subject several times), whereas the one in the Louvre is closer to Titian. In fact, the two works were intended as variants of the theme as treated by famous Italian painters. Mignard gives the composition great clarity of vision. Christ and the Woman of Samaria are seen against a vast landscape, in the light of the setting sun. The yellow of the woman's gown, the red of Christ's robe, and the blue of his mantle may appear to have little subtlety, but the *cangiante* green lilac of the skirt and the many nuances of each hue — of the moss-covered wall, for example — illustrate the ambitious conception of the artist. Although today the work may seem somewhat insipid, it is not without significance in that it adapts classical Bolognese style to French taste without however succumbing to imitation. Thus, the precise reference to Domenichino, as regards the Louvre's *Woman of Samaria*, assumes the nature of a manifesto.

MILLET Jean-François called Francisque Millet

(1642 Antwerp; Paris 1679)

Born at Antwerp to a French father, Millet was a student of Laureys Franck's, whose daughter he married in 1662. He went to Paris in 1659 and was accepted (agrée) by the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1673. Although he traveled in Flanders, Holland, and England, he never went to Italy. The etchings by Théodore (reproduced in 1948 by Martin Davies) give a reasonably accurate idea of Millet's art. His compositions with bird's-eye views over vast horizons are treated less freely than those of Dughet and have a coloration of acid green punctuated by small patches of vermillion or orange.

Together with Bourdon and Étienne Allegrain, Millet is one of the finest painters of heroic landscape in the style perfected by Poussin.

Despite the many canvases hastily attributed to him, he was not a prolific artist. His work was continued, however, by his son Jean (1666-1723) and by his grandson Joseph (1697?-1777), both of whom were also called Francisque.

No serious study has yet been devoted to this important artist.

71.

Landscape with Christ and the Woman of Canaan

Canvas, 96 × 131 cm

Provenance: Chevalier Sébastien Erard collection, Paris sale, 23 Apr. 1832, no. 96 (bought back), then Christie's, London, 22 June 1833, no. 17 (bought back); collection of comtesse de Franqueville (née Schaeffer), great-niece and adopted daughter of Mme Pierre-Orphée Erard (Devries, 1981, p. 85, n. 6); Mme Darcy, Belgium, her descendant; chevalier de Schoutheete de Tervaren, his descendant; comte Zamoyski, Sotheby's, London, 8 July 1959, no. 63, ill.; acquired [by Colnaghi]; The Toledo Museum of Art, 1960.

Exhibitions: London, Colnaghi, 1960, no. 3, pl. III.

Bibliography: Davies, 1948, pp. 24, 18, fig. XI (reproduction of an engraving now lost but on which are cited the sales of 1832 and 1833); *The Art Quarterly*, no. 3, 1961, p. 312, ill. p. 299; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1963, p. 31, fig. 127; Mus. cat., 1976, pp. 111-112, pl. 193.

The Toledo Museum of Art
Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey

A mysterious Théodore engraved twenty-eight compositions by Francisque Millet, probably at the end of the seventeenth century; the engravings serve as a point of departure for all attempts to reconstruct the artist's work. Among these engravings is one representing *Christ and the Canaanite Woman* (Davies, 1948, p. 18, fig. XI), which shows an undeniable resemblance to the Toledo painting; the group of the apostles accompanying Christ is identical in both. The general arrangement of the landscape, however, as well as the poses of Christ and the Canaanite woman, are different. The constructions in the background are given more focal attention in the painting, and here too the exotic note of the palm tree has been removed, placing the scene in a landscape in which there is nothing to suggest that it is Palestine.

The Canaanite woman, as described in Matthew 15: 21-28, appears to Christ and implores him to cure her daughter, who is "grievously vexed with the devil." Although at first he is silent, eventually he answers, "O woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee even as thou wilt." And from that hour, the woman's daughter is "made whole." The painting appears to depict the moment of Christ's acquiescence. But



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rather than the biblical episode, it is the landscape that dominates, with its carefully articulated planes and simple, rhythmic cohesion. The carefully constructed terrain enlivened by figures in the distance, with deforested hills and luxuriant trees, together with the clearing at center that opens up the composition and provides a feeling of space, has a dignity and calm grandeur that typifies the artist's vision.

72.

Landscape with Mercury and Battus

Canvas, 119.5 × 178 cm

Provenance: Collection of François de Laborde-Méréville (1761-1802), his sale, Paris, 22 *thermidor an XI* (10 Aug. 1803), no. 76 (for this collector, see F. Boyer, 1968), acquired by the *expert* Lebrun for 4,800 livres; collection of Viliers, architect, his sale, Paris, 10 Mar. 1812, no. 34, acquired once again by Lebrun; [the painting in the sale of 28 Mar. 1814, no. 79, cannot possibly be the one listed in the Viliers sale catalogue, as its author supposes, because the dimensions, 28 *pouces* by 14 *pouces 6 lignes*, do not correspond with those of the Viliers canvas. It appears to have been put up for sale again at the Fabre sale, 6 Jan. 1813, no. 23]; Lafontaine collection, Paris, Lafontaine sale, 28 May 1821, no. 50 (bought back by the *expert* Henry for 8,000 livres), 2nd Lafontaine sale, 10 Dec. 1822, no. 29. Acquired by H. O. Havemeyer in Italy in 1907; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1929.

Exhibitions: New York, *Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition*, 1920, p. 10 (no cat.); New York, 1930, no. 92; Toronto, *The Classical Contribution to Western Civilization*, 1948-1949 (no cat.).

Bibliography: Blanc, 1857 (II) pp. 212, 345; *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (XV) Sept. 1920, pp. 202-203; Mather, 1930, pp. 464-467, ill. p. 449; Friedlaender, in Thieme Becker (XXVII) 1933, p. 326; Davies, 1948, p. 26, fig. XXIII (engraving); Mus. cat. (Sterling) 1955, pp. 92-94, ill.; Mus. cat. (Baetjer) 1980 (I) p. 127 (III) ill. p. 489.



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The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929; The H. O. Havemeyer Collection

This painting, with the title *Orpheus Asking Pluto the Way*, entered the Metropolitan Museum in 1929, at the same time as *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice* (see Inventory), which was thought to be its pendant; both canvases bore an attribution to Poussin. In 1948, Martin Davies reinterpreted the subject of the first work as Mercury and Battus. The artist was identified by Charles Sterling in 1943 (verbally) and published in 1955 (Mus. cat.).

The picture had in fact been correctly attributed to Millet from the time of the Laborde-Méréville sale in 1803, although Lebrun, the well-known *expert* and author of the catalogue, insisted on specifying that "the painting was thought to be by Nicolas Poussin." Lebrun had also correctly identified the subject as the moment when "Mercury, who has paid Battus for his discretion, Battus being the witness to the theft of Apollo's herd, shows himself in another guise, in order to test him. Mercury is standing. The shepherd, shown seated, points with his left hand to the place where the herd has been hidden." The theme, taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, was rarely treated in the seventeenth century (with the exception of Claude Lorrain and Millet himself; Orléans Mus. cat., 1981, no. 115, ill.). Mercury, while stealing Admetus' cattle, which are being tended by Apollo, is discovered by the shepherd Battus. Battus, although sworn to silence, does not resist the bribes of the god when he returns, in disguise, to test his discretion, and eventually he reveals his secret. Mercury, as punishment, transforms the shepherd into a stone.

The painting was engraved in reverse by Théodore, with no significant modifications (Davies, 1948, p. 23, fig. XXIII; for Théodore, see entry No. 71). It is not possible to date the painting exactly, since nothing is known about Millet's stylistic development or the chronology of his work; the

career of the artist, however, who died at the age of thirty-seven, spans little more than fifteen years.

As opposed to the Toledo canvas (No. 71), Millet here fills the horizon — with a stark, craggy mountain on the side of which is the entrance to the cave where Mercury has hidden the cattle. Two white rabbits are seen at left, at the foot of tall leafy trees, and in the distance a town is visible.

The subjects treated by Millet, whether they are biblical or mythological, are invariably secondary to nature — nature that is luxuriant, washed in sunlight, and serene, recreated by the artist in accordance with the rules of heroic landscape established by Poussin.



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MOILLON Louise

(1610 Paris; Paris 1696)

The daughter of a Protestant art dealer from the Pont Notre-Dame in Paris who died in 1619, Louise Moillon was trained by her stepfather, François Garnier, a talented still-life painter. An inventory drawn up following her mother's death in 1630 indicates that the young artist had by that time produced fourteen still lifes (Coyecque, 1941, p. 82). We know incidentally of two paintings dated 1629 and at least three dated 1630. Between 1630 and 1640, many more still lifes were painted, sometimes with large, rather gauche, female figures.

In 1640, Louise Moillon married Étienne Girardot, a Protestant wood merchant. Faré (1974) has claimed that from this date onward the artist abandoned painting almost entirely. To support this hypothesis (not accepted by Wilhelm, 1956, or by Ann Sutherland Harris, Los Angeles exh. cat., 1976-1977), one would have to decipher the dates inscribed on the still lifes in Strasbourg and Toulouse as 1632, 1632, and 1634 rather than as 1682, 1672, and 1674. In any case, it is certain that Moillon was less productive after 1640, possibly because the archaic style of her work had gone out of fashion. However, in 1646 the artist was still famous enough for Scudéry (p. 150) to associate her with both van Boucle and Linard in the execution of a "large painting of fruits and flowers."

Removed from the Académie Royale, unlike her brother Isaac, a history painter (whose importance is only today being realized), and persecuted for her faith after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), Louise Moillon died abandoned and alone. Our century, which is enamoured of austere still lifes and is drawn to the sober and honest talent of this painter, will have assured her a stunning revenge.

73.

Still Life with Fruit and Asparagus

Panel, 53.5 × 71 cm

Signed and dated on the edge of the table, below: *Louyse' Moillon. 1630.*

Provenance: Mrs. Gertrude D. Webster collection, Massachusetts; Plaza Art Galleries, New York, 7 Nov. 1947, no. 234 ("Dutch 17th century"; \$600), [F. Kleinberger]; The Art Institute of Chicago, 1948.

Bibliography: Mus. cat., 1961, p. 316; Faré, 1962 (II) pl. 33; Faré, 1974, colorpl. p. 55; Schinneller, 1975, ill. p. 28; Sutherland Harris in Los Angeles... (exh. cat.) 1976-1977, p. 141.

The Art Institute of Chicago
Wirt D. Walker Fund

In 1630, Louise Moillon was twenty years old. According to the inventory drawn up after the death of her mother that year, she had already painted fourteen still lifes (Coyecque, 1941), most of them baskets of fruit. Today we know of three paintings that date from 1630: *Fruit and Vegetable Seller*, in the Louvre; *Plate of Cherries*, *Bowl of Strawberries*, and *Basket of Red Currants*, in the Norton Simon Foundation collection; and the Chicago panel.

The last is one of the most perfect examples of the lucidity and precision of Louise Moillon's art. Here she paints a basket richly garnished with fruit, a bunch of asparagus, peas, broad beans, and red currants on a table viewed from above. The carefully juxtaposed motifs are isolated from each other. The execution is severe and dry, coldly objective, and without warmth or tenderness. The palette has an acid charm, and the composition is imbued with a strict sense of order.

Louise Moillon was evidently acquainted with the work of

Daniel Soreau and Jacob van Hulsdonck. She adopted the formula perfected by the Northern artists, rendering it with an archaic quality, a seriousness, reserve, and calm serenity that are today particularly seductive.

MONNOYER Jean-Baptiste

(1636 ? Lille; London 1699)

Born in Lille, probably in 1636 (not in 1634; J. Houdoy, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1877, p. 100), Monnoyer, called Baptiste, arrived in Paris at a very early age. He specialized in flower paintings — “vases placed on tables” — and rapidly established himself as a successful artist. He collaborated with the principal painters of the time in the decoration of royal residences (among them, Vincennes, the Louvre, Trianon, the Ménagerie of Versailles, Saint-Cloud, Saint-Germain, the Tuileries, Marly), and he worked for the Savonnerie and the Gobelins tapestry factories, as well as for wealthy individuals (for example, Fouquet at Vaux, the Hôtel de Bretonvilliers). Elected (réçu) to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1665 and made councilor in 1679, he exhibited at the Salon of 1673. In 1690, summoned by Lord Montagu, he left France for England with Charles de la Fosse (1636-1716). Monnoyer remained in London, where he had a productive career as an artist, until his death in 1699. In France, his elegant and decorative style, so different from that of the still-life painters of the first half of the century, was continued by his son Antoine and by his son-in-law, Blain de Fontenay.

Monnoyer's fame was extensive. Considered by Dezallier d'Argenville the equal of Mignon and van Huysum (1762 ed., pp. 181-184) and by Mariette a strong rival of the great Flemish flower painters (1857-1858 [IV] pp. 7-8), Monnoyer is still remembered today. However, despite the work of Pavière (1966) and Faré (1974), his artistic personality and the evolution of his style need to be more clearly defined, and his works distinguished from those of his many imitators.

74.

Flowers in a Basket

Canvas, 127 × 101.5 cm

Provenance: Scudamore collection, Herefordshire. [Hirschl and Adler, New York]; The High Museum of Art, 1957.

Bibliography: Mus. cat., 1965, p. 22, ill.; Pavière, 1966, p. 18, no. 25, pl. 27 (lower right).

The High Museum of Art, Atlanta
Gift of Mrs. Newdigate Owensby and Mr. and Mrs. Ogden Geiffuss



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“Of all the flower painters, Monnoyer is the one who best knew how to group flowers and who painted them with the finest taste. He did not give the same finish to his paintings as did the Flemish artists who treated the same subjects, but he rendered them with a lightness and delicacy of touch of which only he was capable” (Mariette, 1857-1858 [IV] p. 7). “He imparted a freshness and a truth so perfect to all he painted that one was convinced that nothing was lacking in these beautiful flowers but the scent they seemed to exhale. This great painter... painted everything after nature. He rendered so precisely as to include even the dew that clings to flowers and that lasts into the day” (Dezallier d'Argenville, 1762 [IV] pp. 181-182).

The texts of both Mariette and Dezallier d'Argenville, written half a century after Monnoyer's death, bear witness to the artist's fame. The Atlanta canvas, which must date from late in the artist's career, depicts the usual variety of flowers in a simple wicker basket rather than in one of the “gilded, silver, marble or porphyry vases” that Monnoyer customarily used. The work was perhaps painted during the artist's stay in England (1690-1699), a hypothesis supported by its English provenance.

Sumptuous and lavish, elegant and decorative, the style of the work is far removed from the austere simplicity of French still lifes of the first half of the century.

NICHON P.

We know nothing at all about this painter, whose name does not even appear in early art dictionaries. Michel Faré (1974, p. 134) has gone so far as to suggest that he should be identified with Antoine Michon,

Peintre Ordinaire du Roi, who is mentioned in Paris archives of 1606 and 1607. This hypothesis is somewhat implausible for two reasons: first, the Boston painting is clearly signed P. Nichon; and, second, the author of the Carp must have been born after 1600, particularly if one believes he was a student of Stoskopff's. Whether we regard him as an occasional amateur painter or as a minor talent completely forgotten today, Nichon (like [Du?] Mélezet) is nonetheless deserving of our attention.

75.

The Carp

Canvas, 49 × 59 cm

Signed, lower left: P. Nichon. f (P and N in ligature)

Provenance: R. P[ayelle] collection, Paris, 1951. [Heim, Paris, 1963]; Museum of Fine Arts, 1963.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1951-1952, no. 129 (the painting illustrated on p. 6 is in fact no. 138 of the same catalogue); Miami, 1969, no. 29, pl. p. 9; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *French Paintings from the Storerooms*, 1978 (no cat.).

Bibliography: M. Faré, *Arts*, 28 Dec. 1951, no. 339, p. 10, ill.; Anon., Jan. 1954, ill. p. 19; Jouffrouy (1) p. 19; Jouffroy (2) p. 17; Zurich (exh. cat.) 1956, pp. 41-42, under no. 110; Haug, 1961, p. 30; Faré, 1962 (I) pp. 46, 104; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 1, 1964, p. 107; Haug, 1965, p. 313; Hannema, 1967, p. 23, under no. 90; Faré, 1974, pp. 134-135, ill.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Francis Welch Fund

The existence of many paintings of carps with a very similar composition raises two important questions: who is the inventor of the subject, and what is its meaning?

The *Carp* at Boston, which has been known for thirty years, is signed. A replica of the painting, also signed and faithful to the original even in such details as the wooden pegs of the box of shavings, was put up for sale in Paris, 23 November 1972 (no. 46, ill.). These two works, as well as the Hannema version (Hannema, 1967, p. 23, no. 90), and the copy attributed to Stoskopff (which in 1969 was in the collection of S. Lodi, Munich; cat. no. 7, ill.) derive from an identical work in a private collection in Montbéliard but signed by Stoskopff. There is no doubt that the painting at Boston is a faithful copy (and of very fine quality) of the work by the artist from Strasbourg, especially since there are three other paintings by Stoskopff that repeat the motif of the carp and the wood box (Munich [on deposit at the Pinakothek, Faré, 1974, p. 127, ill.]; private collection, Stockholm [Rapp, 1951, pl. 13, with an attribution to Christian Thum]; Clamecy Museum [Mus. cat., 1978]). The painting at Clamecy, also signed Stoskopff, is the closest in composition



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to the Montbéliard and Boston paintings, although the artist has eliminated the brick wall and the kettle and added, in the left foreground, two lemons, one of which is cut in half. Finally, two early inventories — one dated 1653, the other 1707 — each mention paintings of carps by Stoskopff (Faré, 1974, p. 135), which confirms the authorship of the artist.

The meaning of the *Carp* would have been clear to any cultivated person of the seventeenth century — a Protestant such as Stoskopff or a Catholic such as were most Parisians at that time. The box of shavings alludes to the holy casket; the carp symbolizes Christ; and the extinguished candle signifies the evanescence of temporal life. If the work has today lost its symbolic value, if its meaning is less accessible, it nonetheless retains a quality that can only be described as religious. The starkness of the composition, the subtle play of curves and straight lines, the delicacy of the palette, the muted light that illuminates the fish and makes its scales gleam create an almost haunting atmosphere. One can only regret, once again, that the French term *nature morte* is so inappropriate for a work such as this — particularly in light of its transformation into the German “Stilleben” or the English “still life.”

NOMÉ François de also called Didnomé or Denomé

(c. 1593 Metz; Naples, after 1644)

The work of Causa (1956) and Shuys (1961), the Sarasota exhibition (1950), and sales of several collections (among them, Mondolfo, Christie's, Rome, 26 January 1978) has enabled us to establish the identity of “Monsù Desiderio,” whose work is presently gaining in popularity. Two artists from Metz active in Naples are concealed behind this name: Didier Barra (1590-after 1647), a

topographical painter specializing in views of Naples; and François (Francesco) de Nomé (Didnomé or Denomé, if we conform to the signatures on his paintings), the “painter of cataclysms.” Although at times the two artists collaborated, it is the latter with whom we are here concerned.

Born in Metz, de Nomé was in Rome in 1608 at the atelier of Balthazar Lauwers, the father of Filippo Lauri. From 1613, he was in Naples, where he was married. He painted many interiors and exteriors of Gothic cathedrals, towers of Babel, architectural fantasies, and grandiose ruins that he often embellished with little religious scenes set in an unsettling lunar light.

A visionary painter, a painter of the irrational, the fantastic, and all that is strange, François de Nomé strikes a sympathetic chord in our time — drawn to surrealism and symbolism — which finds in his work fertile ground for psychoanalytic interpretation; Sluys goes so far as to claim that François de Nomé was schizophrenic. This approach, however, tends to focus on de Nomé as a psychological anomaly rather than as a painter. His work, although heavy and monotonous at times, painted with exaggerated impasto (similar to that of Vignon), and including facile and gratuitous effects, nonetheless displays substantial virtuosity both in execution and the use of perspective and space.

Does the artist, who left his native city at the age of fifteen, merit a place in an exhibition devoted to French painting? Although there is little that is, strictly speaking, à la Lorraine in de Nomé's paintings and although his influence, which was considerable, was felt only in Naples, it is also true that his work had few Neapolitan precedents. Thus, we must agree with Raffaello Causa, who, in the catalogue of the exhibition *Arte Francese a Napoli* (Naples, 1967), does not hesitate to place François de Nomé among the painters of the French school.

76.

Interior of a Cathedral

Canvas, 193 × 315 cm

Provenance: [Victor D. Spark Galleries, New York, 1950]; [Julius Weitzner, 1957]; [Wildenstein, New York]; private collection, since 1960.

Exhibitions: Sarasota, 1950, no. 42, pl. V; Houston, 1961, pl. on double page and on covers; Houston, 1971-1972, p. 19.

Bibliography: Sluys, 1957, p. 69, ill.; Sluys, 1961, no. 29, ill. (detail p. 34).

Private collection, United States

This immense cathedral interior initially appears more classical than the canvas at New Haven (No. 77). The frontal composition is perfectly centered and the perspective rendered with great skill. Closer inspection, however, reveals



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many oddities. To begin with, the visitors in the foreground, seen in silhouette against the light, look as if they have been attached to the canvas. In the background, beneath the rood loft of Renaissance inspiration that is decorated with scenes from Genesis — Adam and Eve, both in the Garden of Eden and driven thence — other visitors, these very tiny, are visible. The monumental doors sheltering the vast numbers of sculptures in the niches, the overburdened tombs, and the light that filters through the window relieve the Gothic architecture of its severe rigidity.

The strangeness of the painting is achieved through contrast between the individuals in the cathedral and the immense nave, between the careful, studied execution of the columns and the architecture and the ornate impasto of the sculptures, the tombs, the rose windows, and the capitals, painted as in relief.

Did the artist wish to astonish and alarm, or was he responding to the demands of a Neapolitan clientele fond of Mannerist caprices and drawn to the bizarre? Do the canvases represent the imaginings of a schizophrenic mind, and should they be discussed only in the context of mental illness and psychoanalysis rather than in the context of the history of art? We shall refrain from participating in this debate. It should be noted, however, that the works of de Nomé were collected by his contemporaries in Naples, who did not, it would appear, see in them anything other than clever architectural caprice and decorative fantasy.

77.

The Circumcision in the Temple

Canvas, 121 × 148.5 cm

Signed, lower left: *Francisco Didnomé*. and dated 1623 on the cartel hanging directly above the ceremony

Provenance: Comtesse Manvers collection, North Allerton (Yorkshire); Rayner McConal collection, 1955; [F. Kleinberger, New York, 1955]; Yale University Art Gallery, 1960.



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Bibliography: Causa, 1956, pp. 31, 44, n. 3, pl. 23a (and b [detail]); "Recent Gifts and Purchases, January 1-December 31 1960," *Yale Art Gallery Bulletin*, Dec. 1961, p. 48, pl. p. 8; Sluys, 1961, p. 70, no. 35, ill. p. 71; Mus. cat., 1972, no. 28, with pl.; Fredericksen and Zeri, 1972, p. 151.

Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven
Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., B. A. 1913, Fund

The work is of focal importance in the artist's œuvre; it is clearly signed *Francisco Didnomé* at the lower left, which allows us not only to affirm the identity of the painter but also to attribute to him a series of canvases painted in comparable style. The date 1623 (the same as that of the painting in the National Gallery, London), visible on the cartel hanging at the top of the lantern directly above the ceremony, constitutes one of the rare and certain points of reference in the difficult chronology of the artist's work. We know of one replica with some variations, signed and dated 1630 (or 1636, according to the catalogue), which was put up for sale in Paris, 25 May 1976 (cat. no. 25, ill.).

One notices first the extreme contrast in scale between the figures and the architecture. The scene on the platform at center is without doubt the circumcision of Christ. The meaning of the sacrificial scene, recessed at right, and of the long procession led by a tambourine player and ending with a recalcitrant bull (?), winding like a frieze across the canvas, is less apparent. Are we in front of, or inside, a cathedral? Is the cathedral one of pure invention? Is its architectural plan inspired by one of the Angevin Gothic churches in Naples? Or is it the evocation of a memory of one of the Gothic cathedrals that de Nomé admired before leaving France? As a result of the light (of the sun?) that filters through the stained-glass windows and the light (of the moon?) that illuminates the curious tower, he was able to diversify the planes and accentuate the illusion of depth. The composition is thus transformed into an architectural fantasy, a scenographic caprice.

The painting is one of de Nomé's more restrained works. The impasto is less marked than usual, the sculptures affixed to the walls less abundant and less provoking. But above all there is nothing here of that atmosphere laden with meaning which at once compels and disturbs.

De Nomé's works, which were to have a great influence on Neapolitan artists such as Leonardo Coccorante, place him in the ranks of the most inventive and unusual painters of architecture of his century.

PATEL Pierre

(c. 1605 Picardy ?; Paris 1676)

Almost nothing is known of the life of Patel or that of his son Pierre-Antoine (1646-1707), who was also exclusively a landscape painter. Pierre Patel participated in the decoration of the Cabinet de l'Amour in the Hôtel Lambert (1646-1647) and in that of the Appartement of Anne of Austria in the Louvre (1660). He was a member of the Accademia di San Luca in 1635, and in 1651 signed the act of union drawn up between the Accademia and the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture; he was not, however, elected (réçu) to the Académie Royale. It is also known that in 1640 he was owed 1,000 livres by Vouet.

Strongly influenced by La Hyre, Patel painted bright landscapes with broad, open horizons and trees with dense foliage, bathed in a milky light and punctuated by colonnades.

Called by Mariette the Claude Lorrain of France, Patel does not seem to have visited Italy. His conception of landscape, however, is entirely classical. Picturesque details, fine nuances of the atmosphere, and subtle reflections of light are combined with felicity, giving a natural sense of the equilibrium of masses. Even more than the heroic landscapes of Poussin, Patel's illustrate perfectly the tradition of architectonic landscape so popular in France during the seventeenth century.

78.

Landscape with the Journey to Emmaus

Canvas, 69.5 × 92.5 cm

Signed in capital letters and dated on a block of stone, lower right: P. PATEL INVE.//1652.

Provenance: Anonymous collection, Christie's, London, 29 May 1952, no. 39. [David M. Koetser, New York]; Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.; The Chrysler Museum, 1971.

Exhibitions: New York, 1967, no. 28, ill.



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Bibliography: [Mahey] 1971, p. 27, under no. 66; Rosenberg, Toronto-Ottawa-San Francisco-New York (exh. cat.) 1972-1973, p. 192.

The Chrysler Museum, Norfolk

There are two preparatory drawings for the painting in Norfolk: a study, with few modifications, for the left section of the composition, put up for sale at Christie's 10 July 1973 (cat. no. 25, ill.; exhibited at Stein, London, in 1975, cat. no. 82, pl. 66), and a drawing of the whole composition, at the Crocker Art Gallery, Sacramento (Toronto exh. cat., 1972, no. 106, ill.). In the latter drawing, the landscape is nearly identical to that of the painting, but the figures are disposed in a very different manner. The peasants in the Sacramento drawing are replaced by the Christ and two pilgrims, probably on the road to Emmaus, and by a goatherd and goats. The central figures are, for Patel, merely an excuse to give the picture a religious title.

In 1652, the date of this work, Patel had participated in the decoration of the Hôtel Lambert and seemed to be in regular collaboration with Le Sueur. Among the foremost landscape artists in Paris at the time, Patel was one of the few who did not emigrate to Rome and was not of Flemish origin. His style is halfway between the heroic, lyrical style of Poussin and Claude and the more spontaneous style of the Northern artists (such as Fouquières, or even Champaigne), who were more direct in their approach to nature. One shares with Mariette an admiration for Patel's firmness of touch, his sense of perspective, and his freshness of vision (*Abecedario*, 1857-1858 ed. [IV] pp. 88-89). Although Mariette reproaches him for his "almost unvaried and too idealized manner of painting leaves," he nevertheless recognizes that he "represents water very well."

Patel is without doubt a *petit maître*, and at times there is a certain monotony to his works. But those who are willing to take the time to really look at his paintings will discover therein a hidden detail, an exquisite blend of colors, nuances in the atmosphere and in the light, delicate tonal passages.



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79.

Landscape with Ruins

Canvas, 59 × 85.5 cm

Provenance: Chevalier de Damery collection, "lieutenant aux gardes françaises," before 1763. Sotheby's, London, 16 Mar. 1966, no. 57; [Kleinberger, New York, 1967]; Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, 1967.

Bibliography: *The Art Quarterly*, no. 2, 1968, p. 207, ill. p. 212; Frederick B. Robinson, *Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts* (bulletin) vol. 35, no. 3, Feb.-Mar. 1969, p. 1, ill. p. 2; *Antiques*, Mar. 1972, p. 470, ill.

Museum of Fine Arts, Springfield, Massachusetts
The James Philip Gray Collection

The painting was well known in the eighteenth century. Mariette was probably referring to a work of this kind when he wrote, "It is only recently that [Patel's] works are much sought after" (*Abecedario*, 1857-1858 ed. [IV] p. 89).

Before 1763 the canvas belonged to the chevalier de Damery, a "sensitive and fine connoisseur" of engravings and drawings (E. de Goncourt, *La Maison d'un artiste*, 1881 [I] p. 96) and an experienced collector of paintings. It was engraved in reverse by Jean Daullé (1707-1763) with the curious title *Deuxième Vue d'Italie* (Roux, 1949, no. 151). Although an accurate preparatory drawing is not known, the painting could be related to the sheet, of similar composition, recently acquired by the Institut Néerlandais, Paris (Paris exh. cat., 1974, no. 57, pl. 38). In both cases, Patel blocks out the composition with sparse, elongated trees and architectural ruins. An open horizon, bounded by a lake and furrowed by a river, occupies the center of the canvas. Washerwomen, a goatherd with his child, and pilgrims praying in the colonnaded temple enliven the scene. With loving fidelity to nature, Patel renders with precision of

detail that moment of the day when the sun illuminates with its last rays the vast, clouded sky and the glaucous waters of the river. Patel treats this most banal of subject, with a nostalgic, melancholic, and poetic finesse and a captivating charm.

THE PENSIONANTE DEL SARACENI

(active in Rome between 1610 and 1620?)

In 1943, Roberto Longhi assembled a group of works by an unknown artist whom he called the *Pensionante del Saraceni*. The works were similar to those by Saraceni but differed from the master's work in its "certain intonation, a certain French accent." Since that date, the number of known works by the *Pensionante* has increased to six (one of which is painted in several versions); but while there is general agreement as to the artist's nationality, there has been no consensus of opinion as to his identity (Jean Leclerc, Guy François, and even Georges de La Tour have been proposed).

Two facts are certain: first, as Baglione has already pointed out, Carlo Saraceni (1578/1580?-1620) was a Francophile, dressing in the French fashion, passing himself off as French-speaking, and surrounding himself with French students; and, second, the religious paintings, the genre paintings, and the still lifes grouped together under the name of the *Pensionante* all have an obvious stylistic coherence and show evidence of a direct knowledge of Caravaggio's early works. The artistic personality of the mysterious *Pensionante* is expressed in a delicate sense of poetry, a velvet touch of execution, soft lighting, and a melancholic reserve that together form an originality of great charm.

80.

The Fruit Vendor

Canvas, 130 × 98 cm

Provenance: Champenowne collection, London, from 1816; Champenowne sale, Christie's, London, 30 June 1820, no. 61; Lord Annandale collection, sale, Squibb's, London, 15 Feb. 1832, no. 101. London art market c. 1930 (?). Acquired from Count V. P. Zubow, Riga (Latvia) by Jacob Heimann, Milan. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1936.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1816, no. 92; Milan, 1951, no. 136, pl. 99; Seattle Art Museum, *Caravaggio and the Tenebrosi* (checklist) 1954, no. 4; Sarasota, 1960, no. 3, ill.; New Orleans, 1962-1963, no. 58, pl. 15; Detroit, 1965, no. 5, ill.; Cleveland, 1971-1972, no. 49, ill.



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Bibliography: Richardson, 1937, pp. 65, 86-91, pl. on cover; Longhi, 1943, p. 23, fig. 47; Fiocco, 1954, p. 39; Soehner, 1955, pp. 9, 18, pl. 19, p. 34, n. 58; *Pantheon*, July-Aug. 1965, pl. p. 262; Mus. cat., 1966, pl. p. 97; Guttuso and Ottino della Chiesa, 1967, p. 109, no. 109, ill.; Ottani Cavina, 1968, pp. 50, 68, n. 48, fig. 29; Nicolson, 1970, p. 315; Perez Sanchez, Madrid (exh. cat.) 1970, p. 414; Borea, 1972, p. 157; Fredericksen and Zeri, 1972, pp. 136, 579; Spear, 1972, p. 158; Volpe, 1972, pp. 71-72; Mus. cat., Washington (F. Rusk Shapley) 1973, pp. 65-66; Enggass, 1973, p. 461; Greaves and Johnson, 1974, pp. 568-571, fig. 21 p. 570; Marini, 1974, pp. 470-471; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 75-76, 242 (Italian ed.), pp. 77-78, 250 (French ed.); Nicolson, 1974 (1) p. 611; Spear, 1975, pp. 138-139, ill., and p. 228; Rosenberg, Florence (exh. cat.) 1977, p. 153; Mus. cat. (F. Rusk Shapley) Washington, 1979, p. 112; Nicolson, 1979, p. 78.

The Detroit Institute of Arts
Gift of Edsel B. Ford

Between 1816 and 1832 the work was attributed to Caravaggio, and it was published as his work as late as 1937 by Richardson. In 1943, Longhi identified several Caravaggesque canvases strongly influenced by Saraceni as being by the same master, whom he called the *Pensionante del Saraceni*. He has not since been further identified. (Moir's attempt to identify the artist with Leclerc [Detroit exh. cat., 1965] was abandoned by Moir himself.) Critical opinion has been nearly unanimous in the recognition of the stylistic unity of the works as it has been in the belief that the artist was a French painter from Saraceni's immediate circle.

Together with the *Cook*, in the Corsini collection, Florence; the *Chicken Seller*, in the Prado; and *Job Mocked by His Wife*, in the Vatican (version in New York, Sotheby's sale, 30 May 1979, no. 190, colorpl.), the Detroit canvas is one of the works with which Longhi originally identified the *Pensionante*. The works have in common figures in half-

length, in three-quarter profile, and with open-mouthed expressions of surprise and are painted in velvet-hued colors dissolved in light.

The painting at Detroit is not without a certain awkwardness, as seen, for example, in the ambiguous position of the left hand of the fruit vendor. But what is striking is the subtlety of the still life, of the basket of fruit, and the wicker bag held by the maid, as well as the delicacy of the faded material and the simplicity of the subject — a scene from popular life, recreated with a keen perception of everyday reality.

Would it be an exaggeration to suggest that the world of the Pensionante, one that is “human and melancholic” (Longhi, 1943, p. 24), directly prefigures that of La Tour and the Le Nains?

81.

Still Life with Melons and Carafe

Canvas, 51 × 72 cm

Provenance: Fejer de Buck collection, Rome, before 1935; [Contini Bonacossi, Florence]; Samuel H. Kress, 1935. In the National Gallery of Art since the museum's inauguration in 1941.

Exhibitions: Hartford, 1938, no. 3, ill.; New York, 1939, no. 34.

Bibliography: The painting was published for the first time in 1928-1929 by Roberto Longhi (p. 274). Extensive bibliographies compiled by F. Rusk Shapley can be found in her catalogue of the Kress collection of Italian paintings and in her catalogue of Italian paintings in the National Gallery (1979 [I] pp. 112-114 [II] pl. 77). The following references should be added to those bibliographies (these authors attribute the work to the Pensionante del Saraceni): Borea, 1972, pp. 157-158; Fredericksen and Zeri, 1972, pp. 136, 645; Volpe, 1972, pp. 71-72; Volpe, 1973, p. 29; Gregori, 1975, p. 30, n. 22; Spear, 1975, p. 138, fig. 34; Rosenberg, Florence (exh. cat.) 1977, p. 153; Nicolson, 1979, p. 78.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Samuel H. Kress Collection 1939

Published for the first time in 1928-1929 by Roberto Longhi under the name of Caravaggio, the work bore this attribution for many years — first, because of its similarity to the famous still life in the Ambrosiana, Milan, and second, because of a label on the back of the canvas (reproduced by Longhi, 1968 ed., p. 113). The attribution was called into question both explicitly (Sterling, 1952, p. 53) and implicitly, by excluding the painting from the corpus of Caravaggio's work. The first author who, to our knowledge, attributed the work to the Pensionante del Saraceni was Fritz



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Baumgart (1955, p. 112, n. 9). Since Roberto Longhi's death, this attribution has been universally accepted, and since 1970 Nicolson (p. 315) has proposed that both the Washington canvas and the Detroit canvas (No. 80) be exhibited together so that remaining doubts might be resolved.

This work — one of the few French Caravaggesque still lifes of quality — which was probably painted in Rome between 1615 and 1620, shows a knowledge of Caravaggio's first canvases, painted some twenty years earlier. On a table covered by a white tablecloth are a platter of fruit, a carafe of wine, melons, and a pear. The two flies reinforce the trompe-l'œil effect and accentuate the anecdotal aspect of the work. The harmony of the sharp green of the leaves with the pink of the melon and the dull gold of the wine demonstrate the Pensionante's acuity as a colorist. In contrast with the light of the early works of Caravaggio, the light here is soft, even velvety in parts, dissolving forms and creating luminous reflections in the shadows.

Did the Pensionante return to France after Saraceni's death in 1620? Whether or not he did, it would be difficult to discern the influence he might have had on early seventeenth-century French still-life painters, who seem to have known only Northern examples.

PERRIER François

(1590? Salins?; Paris 1650)

After an early apprenticeship at Lyons, François Perrier went to Rome sometime before 1625. There he was employed by Lanfranco, whose influence on him was crucial. On his return to France, he stopped at Lyons (1630) and then settled in Paris, where he worked with Simon Vouet. At this time also the young Le Brun entered his studio. In 1635, Perrier returned to Rome, where he remained for ten years working with Grimaldi and G. B. Ruggieri on the decoration of the Peretti Palace (now Almagià). Upon his return to Paris, he was commissioned to paint the ceiling (replaced by a copy in

the nineteenth century) of the gallery of the Hôtel La Vrillière (now the Banque de France). At the same time, he participated in the decoration of the Hôtel Lambert (Aeneas Fighting the Harpies, now in the Louvre, and the decoration for the cove of the ceiling of the Cabinet des Muses). Perrier was among the twelve founding members of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1648.

Strongly influenced by both Lanfranco and Pietro da Cortona, Perrier introduced in France the great Roman style of decorative art in a rougher, more epic, and wilder manner than that of Vouet.

The articles by Walter Vitzthum, Erich Schleier (whose first article in *Paragone*, no. 271, was followed by Roberto Longhi's publication of the Lewisburg painting; see *Inventory*), Jacques Thuillier, and Rosenberg have enabled us to better define the artistic personality of this great painter and draftsman, making the absence of a monograph all the more to be regretted.

82.

The Deification of Aeneas

Canvas, 106.5 × 135 cm

Provenance: Lempertz, Cologne, 8 Nov. 1961, no. 1, pl. 16 (as by "Albani," accompanied by a 1929 certificate from Luitpold Dussler with this attribution); Italian, then English art market; [Heim, London, before 1978].

Bibliography: Rosenberg, in press [1982].

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. J. Seward Johnson, Princeton

The painting illustrates a passage from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XIV, 597-604): Venus, having alighted from her dove-drawn chariot, orders Numicius, the river god, to wash from Aeneas' body the last traces of mortality ("everything... that is subject to death"). Le Brun had painted the following episode of the poet's narrative, in which Venus anoints the purified body of her son with a holy perfume and touches his lips with ambrosia and nectar (for this canvas at Montreal, see *Le Brun* exh. cat., Versailles, 1963, no. 5, ill.).

We know from Florent Le Comte (1702 ed. [III] p. 127) that Le Brun painted his canvas in Rome between 1642 and 1645. No documentary evidence dates Perrier's canvas, although its style indicates that it was painted in the last decade of the artist's creative life, shortly after his great *Olindo and Sophronia* (1639), at Reims, and perhaps at the same time as the *Venus Imploring Neptune to Be Merciful to Aeneas*, at Épinal, to which the *Deification* is probably the pendant. But did he execute it after his return to Paris in 1645, or, as we believe, before his return, when he was in Rome? The fact that both student and master — for we must



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remember that Le Brun was in Perrier's atelier about 1632 — approached such closely related subjects leads us to posit, albeit very tentatively, that the two works were executed concurrently in Rome shortly before 1645. But while le Brun turned to the example of Poussin (a drawing by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, in the Johnson collection at Philadelphia, indicates that Le Brun's Montreal painting was confused with the "Poussin" in the Thélusson collection, sale of 1 December 1777, no. 30), Perrier remained faithful to the formula inherited from Lanfranco and Pietro da Cortona, a formula he adapted to his own distinctive style. The elongated bodies in mannered poses, the long drapery with broken folds, the tiny heads with short beards, and the wild expressions of Aeneas and Nimicius — with their half-open mouths and fleshy lips — are all characteristic of Perrier's artistic ideal. Particularly moving is the gesture of Aeneas, who bends with yearning toward the purifying water that offers him immortality. A great nobility and a sense of narrative is handled in a lyric mode that justifies the reputation the artist enjoyed during his lifetime both in Paris and Rome — two cities between which he never chose.

POERSON Charles

(1609? Metz or Vic-sur-Seille?; Paris 1667)

Although it is known from the early biographies of Vouet that Charles Poerson was one of his many students, it is not known whether he was ever in Italy. In 1636 he served as witness at the marriage of the painter Michel Corneille, and two years later he married the sister of the painter Antoine Hérault. Poerson entered the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1651 and seven years later was named recteur. His son Charles-François (1653-1725), a mediocre painter, would become one of the greatest directors of the French Academy in Rome.

Soon forgotten, Poerson's work became confused with paintings by his son, by Vouet, by La Hyre (the painting exhibited here), and by Champagne (tapestries in Strasbourg Cathedral). During his lifetime, however, the artist collaborated with Vouet (*Galerie des Hommes Illustres*, Palais-Royal) and Le Sueur (decoration of the *Appartement des Bains* of Anne of Austria, Louvre), while he also retained his reputation as an independent artist (*Mays* of Notre-Dame, 1642 and 1653; *Life of Saint Louis*, location unknown, six paintings for the *Hôpital des Quinze-Vingt*).

Several signed or documented paintings (Metz; Vire; Arras; Tula; Louvre; Church of Monfort l'Amaury; *Pietà*, signed, private collection, England, Houston exh. cat., 1973-1975, no. 71, ill.) and paintings with very probable attributions (Cologne, Dublin, possibly Perpignan, Mainz, Church of Saint Symphorien-de-Lay) have enabled us to distinguish Poerson's canvases (like those of Dorigny) from those of Vouet's other pupils and collaborators. Following the research of Jeanne Lejeaux (1946, 1948, 1954), Sylvie Savina is now engaged in studying the work and career of Poerson, one of the many good painters of his generation.

83.

Saint Peter Preaching in Jerusalem

Canvas, 80 × 65 cm

Provenance: Sale after the death of Nourri, Conseiller au Grand Conseil, Paris, 24 Feb. 1785, no. 85: "Charles Poerson. St. Peter preaching in Jerusalem: a composition with sixteen figures set against a rich architectural background; small version of the large painting in Notre-Dame de Paris. The painting is executed in broad brushstrokes and painted in Vouet's style. Height 20 *pouces*, width 22 *pouces* 6 *lignes*" (information kindly supplied by Sylvie Savina). Sotheby's, London, 20 June 1980, no. 99, ill. ("L. de La Hyre"); [Luigi Grassi, London]; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1981. Bibliography: *Apollo*, May 1981, p. 411, ill. ("La Hyre").

Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Gift of the Ahmanson Foundation

On the first of May, from 1630 until 1708, almost without interruption, the Paris goldsmiths' guild presented a great painting to Notre-Dame. The *May* was exhibited for one day at the entrance to the cathedral, then hung for one month opposite the Chapelle de la Vierge, before being placed between the pillars of the nave (as is shown in old engravings and in a painting formerly in the collection of Anthony Blunt [Auzas, 1963, p. 132, ill. in color p. 125, detail p. 128, fig. 3] and now the property of the Notre-Dame Museum). These seventy-six *Mays*, which form a kind of anthology of seventeenth-century French painting, were dispersed during the Revolution, and despite the research of P. M. Auzas (most recently, 1954), several still remain to be found.



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Poerson received two commissions for *Mays*, one in 1653, *Saint Paul at Malta*, now lost but known from an engraving by Tardieu, and another in 1642, *Saint Peter Preaching in Jerusalem* (Auzas, 1949, p. 179, fig. 2). The *May* of 1642, signed and dated and measuring 32.5 cm high by 26 cm wide, is now back in Notre-Dame. The canvas recently acquired by Los Angeles was sold in London in 1980 under an attribution to La Hyre. It shows few variants with the great Notre-Dame painting. There are, however, several differences in the background architecture and in the facial expressions and costumes of the figures. What is not known is whether the painting is a finished sketch or one of the reduced replicas that painters who received the commissions were obliged to execute as an expression of gratitude to the two goldsmiths who annually presented the *Mays* to the cathedral (in this instance, Pierre Le Bastier and François Lequint). We tend to support the second of these possibilities, since the differences between the two works are negligible.

The painting is strongly marked by the influence of Poerson's master, Simon Vouet, and shows the same widely articulated composition and ample, generous rhythms. By 1642, however, the young Poerson (he was then only thirty-three) had found his own style, which included elongated figures, dislocated poses, and broken gestures. Although a somewhat ostentatious demonstration of virtuosity — the complex architectural curves assuming, at times, an almost wanton proliferation — the painting attains many ambitious objectives, seen in such details as the young man at right, flattened against the Solomonic column, the sinews of his spine shown in contrast to the sweep of the column and its moldings. Poerson doubtless wanted to vindicate the courage and meet the expectations of the Paris goldsmiths who chose him to execute this important commission.

POUSSIN Nicolas

(1594 Les Andelys; Rome 1665)

To summarize, in a few lines, the life of the greatest French painter of the seventeenth century — perhaps even the greatest French painter of all time — is something of a gamble, particularly since his work, even more than his life, underwent many transformations, and not all of its secrets have yet been revealed.

Born at Les Andelys in Normandy in 1594 and trained at Rouen and Paris, Poussin, after two unsuccessful attempts, finally settled in Rome in 1624. He was never to leave the city again, with the exception of the unhappy years 1640 to 1642, when he was summoned to Paris by Louis XIII. After several years of financial difficulty, Poussin rose rapidly to fame, as a result of the commissions for the Death of Germanicus (No. 85) and the Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus, painted for Saint Peter's, Rome. In 1630, he had married Anne-Marie Duguet, daughter of a French cook and sister of the painter Duguet (see Nos. 26-28). Poussin died a solitary death, although he was widely known and admired by the most discriminating literati of the time.

Poussin painted easel paintings almost exclusively, usually preceded by pen-and-wash drawings. He painted biblical and mythological scenes and devoted himself increasingly to landscape. His œuvre of barely more than 250 paintings, the majority of which are known to us (sometimes only through an engraving or a contemporary copy), can be divided into several distinct periods: pre-Rome (the works from this phase are, for the most part, lost); the first years in Rome, an exceptionally prolific phase (Konrad Oberhuber's book, forthcoming, deals with this period and is convincing on several counts); the second Roman period, 1630-1640, when the artist, in full possession of his powers, created his most lyrical and perfectly composed works; the brief and unhappy episode in Paris; the years 1642-1654, Poussin in his full maturity, a period of increasing classicism, when reflection assumed greater importance in his work than technical facility; and finally, the period of old age, dominated by the pictures of the Seasons (Louvre), reflections on the fecundity of nature and the significance of human life and death — the spiritual testament of the painter-philosopher.

In recent years, such scholars as Walter Friedlaender, Sterling Blunt, Mahon, and Thuillier have attempted to separate Poussin's paintings from those of his many imitators (a difficult task, especially with regard to works prior to 1630) and to identify among known versions of the same composition the one unquestionably by the hand of Poussin. Exhibitions in which many of the artist's works have been assembled (Paris, 1960; Rome-Düsseldorf, 1977-1978; Edinburgh, 1981) have played a decisive role in this search. Some specialists have continued to look for early inventories, but a larger number have turned to analysis of the works themselves. Poussin, whose erudition was considerable, liked to create new compositions and to make the great myths of antiquity accessible through visual imagery. Scarcely an issue of *The Art Bulletin* or the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* appears without offering a new interpretation of one or another well-known work. While he earned his reputation

in Rome by reacting against the more fashionable trends, rejecting both Caravaggio and Pietro da Cortona, Poussin later chose to work in isolation and created those paintings that are unequalled in contemporary painting. Although in his philosophy a stoic and a pantheist, Poussin never relinquished that delight and pleasure in his art which was for him its *raison d'être*.

84.***

Landscape with Nymphs and Satyr (*Amor Vincit Omnia*)

Canvas, 97 × 127.5 cm

Provenance: Perhaps the *Venere con Amore che gli conduce un Satiro*, in the size of "tela d'Imperatore" (c. 97 × 130 cm), no. 133 of the inventory of goods belonging to Gabriele dal Pozzo, Rome, 1695 (Brejon de Lavergnée, 1973, p. 84, no. 133, see also pp. 87, 92). Collection of Lord Radstock, Christie's, London, 13 May 1826, no. 27; anonymous collection, Phillips, London, 1829 (according to Smith); collection of earl of Northwick, Thirlestane House, near Cheltenham, 1837 (according to Smith); Lord Northwick sale, Phillips, London, 24 Aug. 1859, no. 1809. Collection of J. S. W. S. Erle Drax, Olantigh Towers, Wye (Kent), Christie's, London, 19 and 21 Feb. 1910, no. 105 [to Cohen]. Collection of David Hornern London, 1925; [Durlacher Brothers, London]; collection of J. H. Wade, Cleveland; given by Wade on the eve of his death to the Cleveland Museum of Art, 1926.

Exhibitions: Paris, 1925, no. 270; Cleveland, 1936, no. 227, pl. XXXIX; Rochester, Memorial Art Gallery, *Rebels in Art*, 1936 (no cat.); New York, 1939, no. 12; New York, 1940, no. 58; New York, Durlacher Brothers, *Paintings and Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, 1940 (no cat.); Cleveland, 1956, no. 31, pl. XVII; Paris, 1960, no. 33, ill.; Denver, 1971, p. 56, ill. p. 57; Hamilton, 1980, no. 30, pl. p. 82.

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1960, see *Poussin* (exh. cat.) 1960, Paris, no. 33; see also Incisa della Rocchetta, 1951, p. 43, n. 3. Since 1960: Bardon, 1960 (I) p. 130, n. 37; Blunt, 1960, p. 400, fig. 13; Kauffmann, 1961, p. 98; Rosenberg, Rouen (exh. cat.) 1961, pp. 83-84, under no. 185; Schaar, 1961, pp. 183-188, fig. 2; Thuillier, 1961, p. 340; Mahon, 1962, p. 18, n. 49; Sutherland, 1964, p. 367, n. 19; Blunt, 1966, p. 173, R.58, pp. 174, 178; Blunt, 1967, p. 110, n. 15; Sutherland Harris, 1967, pp. 39-40, nn. 36, 38; Cocke, 1969, pp. 712, 716; Cocke, 1972, pp. 65-66; Thuillier, 1974, p. 126, no. R 124, ill. (the book also exists in an Italian ed.); Rosenberg, Rome (exh. cat.) 1977-1978, p. 110 (see also German ed., Düsseldorf, 1978, p. 83).

The Cleveland Museum of Art
Gift of J. H. Wade

The painting appeared in a London sale of 1826, exactly a century before it entered the Cleveland Museum. We believe it is most likely one and the same as the *Venere con Amore che*



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gli conduce un Satiro in the inventory of the property of Gabriele dal Pozzo (second son of Carlo Antonio and brother of Poussin's friend Cassiano dal Pozzo), which was drawn up at the request of Gabriele's wife in 1695. The dimensions (*tela d'Imperatore*, about 97 cm high by 130 cm wide) and theme of that painting, as described in the inventory, correspond exactly to the size and theme of the Cleveland painting (Brejon de Lavergnée, 1973, p. 84, no. 133). The latter is probably the same as the one cited about 1689 by Robert de Cotte (Thuillier, 1960 [II] p. 203; Somers Rinehart, 1960 [I] p. 29, no. 26), although in a manner too vague either to confirm or refute our conclusion.

The painting is known by two titles — the rather vague *Landscape with Nymphs and Satyr* and the more abstract but accurate *Amor Vincit Omnia*. The theme of Love Triumphant was not uncommon to seventeenth-century painters (Pigler, 1956 [II] pp. 19-20), but as Blunt recalls (*Poussin* exh. cat., 1960, p. 70), “by a play on words, the Latin word *omnia*, in the sentence *Amor vincit Omnia*, was replaced by the Greek *Pan*, thus creating a new way of representing the victory of the god of love.” The painting in fact shows a cupid holding a quiver and leading by the beard a kneeling Pan, identified by his flute, toward a welcoming nymph, quite noticeably Venus. Another nymph, a second cupid, and an embracing couple embellish the lush and verdant landscape.

Until the Louvre's Poussin exhibition (1960), the work had been unanimously attributed by scholars (including Blunt) to Poussin. Since then, the same unanimity has prevailed in the rejection of that attribution. Several other names have been advanced: that of Mola, first proposed by Schaar in 1961 and accepted by Blunt and Thuillier, seems convincing to the Poussin specialists, but Mola scholars (Cooke and Sutherland Harris) remain skeptical. Two drawings are closely related to the Cleveland painting: one sheet, in the Institut Néerlandais, Paris (Schaar, 1961, p. 184, fig. 1), shows the whole composition with no significant variations; another sheet, in

the Louvre (idem, p. 187, fig. 4), classified under the name Andrea Sacchi, takes up the group of cupid holding the satyr's beard and also includes the hands of the putto at the extreme right. We shall not discuss here the attribution of these sheets (the first is now generally attributed to Mola), which will soon be published by Konrad Oberhuber. However, in 1974, in a written communication to the Cleveland Museum, Oberhuber attributed the painting to Poussin himself, an opinion with which we obviously concur. The Poussin exhibition at Rome and Düsseldorf, which included a group of the artist's early works (both those with firm attributions and those with contested attributions; Blunt, 1978), has only strengthened our conviction.

For one thing, we are convinced that during his first difficult years in Rome, before he painted the *Death of Germanicus* (1627; No. 85), Poussin's tremendous productivity at times — although not in this case — resulted in an inattention to detail. It was only after his reputation had been established that Poussin was content to paint two or three pictures a year, works that came to fruition only after many hours and long reflection.

There are also elements in the Cleveland painting — details of execution, notably the leaves of the trees, and the features of Pan, the putti, and the nymphs — that unite it to a whole series of canvases, such as the Prado *Bacchus and Ariadne*, the Montpellier *Venus and Adonis*, also from the dal Pozzo collection (and the ex-Flandrin fragment; Whitfield, 1980, fig. 25), the Liverpool *Landscape with Nymphs and Satyrs*, and the Louvre *Nurture of Bacchus*, all of which, in our opinion, date from about 1625. (The chronology of Poussin's work from 1624 to 1627 poses difficult questions that cannot be discussed in detail here.) These works share not only subjects of similar inspiration; they also have in common contrasting light effects, a studied execution of anatomy as against a freer handling of landscape, and compositions in frieze that unfold sequentially like bas-relief.

Finally, it will be recalled that the painting, in all probability, was originally in the dal Pozzo collection. We are among those who believe that misattributions were rare in this distinguished collection, formed largely by Cassiano (1588?-1657), Poussin's friend of many years. Combining nostalgia and serenity, not without a touch of irony that is rare for this artist, and drawing on Venice and the Carracci, Poussin approaches the theme in a manner that is somewhat detached and filled with blissful reverie, a manner which precludes any hand save that of Poussin.



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85.***

The Death of Germanicus

Canvas, 148 × 198 cm

Provenance: Commissioned at the earliest in Oct. 1626 by Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), nephew of Pope Urban VIII; delivered 21 Jan. 1628 and paid for two days later (60 scudi); property of the Barberini, Rome, then the Corsini, Florence (M. A. Lavin, 1975); bought from Prince and Princess Tommaso Corsini [by Wildenstein, New York, 1958] and sold to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1958.

Exhibitions: Florence, 1945, no. 15, pl. XXVI; Toledo-Minneapolis, 1959, p. 24, fig. 5; Paris, 1973 (catalogue devoted entirely to the painting); Rome, 1977-1978, no. 13, ill. (catalogued but exhibited Düsseldorf only); Düsseldorf, 1978, no. 15, ill. and color detail on cover.

Bibliography: For extensive bibliography see Paris (exh. cat.) 1973 (see also Mus. cat., Minneapolis, 1971, no. 85). Essential references since 1973: Blunt, 1973, pp. 533-534; Blunt, 1974, p. 239; Friedlaender and Blunt, 1974 (V) p. 95; Thuillier, 1974, no. 43, ill. (French ed.); M. A. Lavin, 1975, p. 507 (lists all documents concerning the painting); Wild, 1980 (II) no. 15, ill.

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts
The William Hood Dunwoody Fund

In 1973 we codirected with Nathalie Butor (née Volle) an exhibition on the Minneapolis *Death of Germanicus*. Since then, new material has come to light: a drawing (Blunt, 1973, pl. 69; idem, 1974, pl. 1) in addition to those in the British Museum and at Chantilly, several copies, and some early texts that now supplement those published in the catalogue of the exhibition. As for the works directly inspired by the painting, it would be virtually impossible and of no great use to draw up an exhaustive list.

The subject is drawn from Tacitus (*Annals*, Books II, LXXI, LXXII): The Roman emperor Tiberius, jealous of

the fame of his adopted son Germanicus, the brilliant general, has him poisoned. On his deathbed, Germanicus asks his friends to avenge his death and charges his wife, Agrippina, to bear her sorrow with dignity.

Commissioned at the earliest in October 1626 by Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the nephew of Urban VIII, and a great Francophile like all the papal family, the painting provided Poussin with his first opportunity, to our knowledge, to take up Roman history. Drawing his inspiration from studies of antiquity as much as from Rubens, Poussin succeeded in transposing onto canvas a moral lesson, an *exemplum virtutis*. The work excited immediate and deep interest, and little more than a year after it was delivered, in January 1628, Poussin received the commission for the *Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus* for the basilica of Saint Peter's. Judging from the critical praise it received from the great theorists of painting and history, who went to view it repeatedly in the Barberini Palace, and by the many copies made of it (by Géricault and Gustave Moreau, among others), the *Death of Germanicus* remained influential for more than two centuries. Critics were quick to recognize the artist's innovation in combining dignity and reserve with strong emotion — the face of each soldier expressing a different feeling, the mastery by Agrippina of her sorrow, the fact that only one of Agrippina's children, the eldest, comprehends the drama to which he is witness, and the funeral bed itself, which gives to the scene its solemnity and grandeur. It was the age of David, however, that was most strongly influenced by the frieze composition of the work — rhythmic yet static, and deliberately without depth — and by its content, through which they learned that a painting could by its theme serve as a "school of virtue."

The *Death of Germanicus* is Poussin's first masterpiece in the heroic mode; beyond the importance of its references to antiquity and its formal beauty, the work evokes the great themes of human destiny — death, suffering, injustice, sorrow, compassion, loyalty, and revenge.

86.

Mars and Venus

Canvas, 155 × 213.5 cm

Provenance: It would seem that the frequently cited dal Pozzo provenance must be dismissed (Brejon de Lavergnée, 1973, p. 87). Henry Furness (or Furnese) sale, London, 4 Feb. 1758, no. 55; acquired at this sale for 105 livres by Simon, first count of Harcourt; described as being at Nuneham Park, near Oxford, in 1797 ([Harcourt] cat., p. 32; for another painting from this collection, see No. 54); remained in the Harcourt collection until 1940; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1940.



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Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1823, no. 175; London, Royal Academy, 1883, no. 194; London, 1938, no. 320, pl. 80 of the "Illustrated Souvenir"; Toledo-Minneapolis, 1959, p. 26, fig. 10.

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1966, see Blunt; see also Cunningham, 1940, pp. 55-58, ill.; Friedlaender, 1965, p. 114, colorpl. p. 115 (French ed.). Blunt, 1966, no. 183, ill. (see also p. 247); Blunt, 1967, pl. 62; Badt, 1969 (I) pp. 512, 611-612, n. 18 (II) pl. 80; Brejon de Lavergnée, 1973, p. 87; Thuillier, 1974, no. 45, ill., and p. 116 (French ed.); Blunt, 1979, p. 194, n. 10; Wild, 1980 (II) p. 53, ill., and p. 251, R. 17.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Augustus Hemenway and Arthur Wheelwright Funds

The provenance of this painting remains a mystery: it was tempting to identify it as the *Mars and Venus* cited by Robert de Cotte about 1689 in the illustrious dal Pozzo collection formed by Poussin's friend in Rome (Cunningham, 1940; Blunt, 1960). But if Brejon de Lavergnée (1973, p. 87) is to be believed, there were in this collection only two paintings with Venus as subject: the Montpellier *Venus and Adonis* (Whitfield, 1980) and, according to us, the Cleveland *Landscape with Nymphs and Satyr* (No. 84).

Nevertheless, we maintain that there is no question of the painting's authenticity; only Badt (1969) and Doris Wild (1980) regard it as the work of an imitator or *pasticheur*, perhaps Fabrizio Chiari. Wild has proposed this name, albeit with caution, because Fabrizio Chiari in 1635 engraved a composition by Poussin (the first known engraving after Poussin) of a very similar subject — in fact, Chiari engraved a drawing by Poussin that is now in the Louvre (Friedlaender and Blunt, 1953 [III] p. 30, pl. 159). It is not known, however, if this drawing (and a copy of it at Windsor) is a preparatory study for the Boston painting (Blunt, 1966) or a study for a second *Mars and Venus* now lost (Thuillier, 1974, no. B.29; also Mahon, 1962, p. 20, n. 62).

Also disputed is the date of the work. According to Blunt, it was painted after 1630, according to Thuillier slightly later than the *Death of Germanicus* (1627). We tend to agree with

the latter, a date we hope the painting's restoration, undertaken for this exhibition, will confirm. It should be noted that the orange curtain, which enhances the isolation of the protagonists, serves the same purpose as the blue curtain in the *Death of Germanicus*.

The subject has inspired artists — especially in the seventeenth century — from Rubens to Guercino (Friedlaender, 1942). Mars, the god of war, sings the praises of Venus. Having found refuge in her embrace, he now must leave her, obeying the command of the gods. The attributes of the warrior — shield and helmet — are made ready for his departure. The attributes of the goddess of love — quivers, arrows, and torches — allude to the strength of her powers. A river god and voluptuous reclining nymph, her silhouette reflected in the water, observe the scene.

The vast, sunlit landscape gives depth to the composition, and vivid touches of color — orange, red, lilac, blue — add warmth. Although he depicts the initial gesture of Mars, Poussin, as is his wont, chooses not to paint the motion itself, concentrating rather on the poetic climate. Mars turns his head with yearning toward Venus, while Venus tries to restrain him; but time inexorably resumes its course. Poussin, better than any other painter, is the poet who sings of brief moments of happiness, moments outside time, that the edicts of fate inevitably destroy.

87. **

Diana and Endymion

Canvas, 121 × 168 cm

Provenance: Mentioned in the 1653 and 1661 inventories of Cardinal Mazarin (according to Mahon, 1960, pp. 352-354, Mazarin could have acquired the painting directly from Poussin in Rome in 1632-1633). This painting is possibly the one in the John van Spanghen sales at Ford, London, 12 Mar. 1743, no. 179 [acquired by Spencer but probably bought back], and Cook and Langford, London, 10 Feb. 1748, no. 76 [acquired by Blackwood]. Often identified with a painting in the collection of Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, which, according to the catalogue, came from France (cat. 1841, no. 1772: "école de Poussin"). The Fesch painting, however, which was sold in Rome, 17 Mar. 1845 (no. 408: "école de Poussin" [acquired by Warneck]), was perhaps only a copy of the original work. Acquired [by Cassirer, Berlin] in England. Sold to Julius Haass, Detroit, 1922. Collection of Mrs. Trent McMaht (née Constance Haass), Detroit. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1936.

Exhibitions: Detroit, 1937, no. 28; New York, 1940, no. 59, pl. p. 46; Pittsburgh, 1951, no. 57, ill.; Fort Worth, 1954, no. 79; Cleveland, 1956, no. 32, pl. XVIII; Toledo-Minneapolis, 1959, p. 26, fig. 14; Paris, 1960, no. 26, ill.; Bologna, 1962, no. 59, ill.; Detroit, 1965, no. 14, ill.; New York, 1968-1969, no. 29, colorpl.; Leningrad-Moscow-Kiev-Minsk, 1976, ill.; Paris, 1976, no. 13, colorpl.; Rome, 1977-1978, no. 20, ill.; Düsseldorf, 1978, no. 18, ill.



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Bibliography: Before 1966, see Blunt and also Mahon in Bologna (exh. cat.) 1962, p. 173; see also Friedlaender, 1965, p. 116, colorpl. p. 117; Blunt, 1966, no. 149, ill.; Blunt, 1967, pp. 122, 124, pls. 63, 66b; Lee, 1967, pp. 50-51, fig. 7 (and cover ill.); Colton, 1969, pp. 426-431; Badt, 1969 (I) pp. 152, 515-516, 634, no. 161 (II) pl. 81; Mus. cat., 1971, p. 102, ill.; Dowley, 1973, pp. 305-318; Simon, 1973, pp. 110-114, fig. 2, p. 111; Hibbard, 1974, p. 30, fig. 9; Thuillier, 1974, no. 42 (French ed.); Sterling, 1975, pp. 217-218, 223-225, nn. 8-9, fig. 16; Blunt, 1978, p. 421; Rubin, 1978, pp. 63, 58, fig. 19; Simon, 1978, p. 66, n. 64; Morse, 1979, colorpl. p. 210; Wild, 1980 (II) p. 295, R.57, ill.

The Detroit Institute of Arts
Founders Society Purchase, General Membership and Donations Fund

The attribution of the painting to Poussin has never been seriously challenged. Only Doris Wild recently (1980) excluded it from the painter's œuvre and attributes it to an "anonymous imitator." She bases her attribution on the fact that Chantelou and Bernini did not see the painting when in 1665 they visited the collection of the heirs of Cardinal Mazarin, to whom the painting had belonged since 1653 (at least it was not mentioned by Chantelou). Furthermore, in the Cardinal Fesch sale (1845), the canvas was catalogued (by George) as "school of Poussin." We support neither of these arguments, so persuasive is the argument advanced by the quality of the work itself. In any case, it is probable that the painting in the Fesch collection was a copy (location unknown), a conclusion supported by the fact that the work was sold for only 37 scudi.

Poussin has not conformed to the traditional representation of the episode in which Diana discovers the shepherd Endymion asleep and falls in love with him; indeed, the theme is treated in a manner that has caused much debate in recent years (Colton, Dowley, Simon). But is the painting, as Thuillier posits (1974), the representation of a different scene altogether, that in which Diana joins her lover at dawn, at the moment when Apollo leaps into the sky? Or is the

painting rather a depiction of the goddess's morning farewell to the happy shepherd, who, on his knees in adoration, is overcome with emotion (for Diana, the beautiful Luna, appears to be leaving Endymion rather than joining him)? At right, the figure of Night, at her feet the twins symbolizing Death and Sleep, seems to be drawing the veil of darkness around her, rather than closing it to screen the lovers.

The date of the work is now relatively secure. Mahon (1962, pp. xi, 55, 57) and Blunt (1967, 1978) propose 1631-1633. Thuillier (1974) has advanced the hypothesis that Poussin began the painting in 1627, stopped working on it at some point, and took it up again just before 1630; this would explain the many *pentimenti* that are clearly visible. The Rome-Düsseldorf exhibition (1977-1978) enabled comparisons to be made between the Detroit painting, the slightly later *Echo and Narcissus* in the Louvre (Blunt, 1978), and the slightly earlier *Venus Mourning Adonis* at Caen. The figure of Sleep (Somnus) reclining in the shadows, in the Detroit canvas, is identical to the figure at left in the paintings at Caen and London (*Cephalus and Aurora*). All these works were, in our opinion, painted before 1630 — that is, shortly after the commission of the Louvre *Saint James the Major* and before the execution of the *Kingdom of Flora* at Dresden.

Poussin's perceptions and style of painting were at this time undergoing both a transformation and a renewal. The Detroit painting retains, notably at the right, some of the somber, stormy, electric colors of canvases close in date to the *Death of Germanicus* (No. 85). But it also has the pale, golden, luminous, vaporous hues that belong to the works of the 1630s. The restrained atmosphere of poetic and romantic nostalgia, far removed from the flowery sensuality of Poussin's first Roman canvases (see No. 84), is another manifestation of the same transformation.

But above all, what is new is the originality of invention that has enormous poetic force. Endymion, a mortal, has dared to love a goddess, and for this transgression he must choose between endless sleep, which assures him eternal youth and beauty, and life, which embraces age and death. The drama of this cruel choice is already apprehended in the admiring and adoring yet perplexed and hesitant gaze of Endymion.

The Assumption of the Virgin

Canvas, 134.5 × 98 cm

Provenance: Probably the painting that belonged to Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani (and painted for him, according to Haskell, 1963, p. 95; 1980 ed., p. 95): Sandrart, who lived in the Giustiniani Palace between 1628 and 1636, describes it ("eine in den Himmel erhebt heilige Jungfrau"), and it is mentioned in the 1638 inventory of the Giustiniani collection, published by Luigi Salerno in 1960 (p. 97, no. 96, pl. 1 p. 92: "un quadro dell'Assunzione della Beata Vergine con un gruppo d'Angeli Putti, che la portano dipinto in tela alta palmi 6, Lar. 4 in circa si crede di mano di Nicolo Poussin"). In 1750 the painting belonged to Count Niccolò Soderini, who lent it that year to an exhibition held under the portico of the Pantheon in Rome: "Appartenente all'Illustrissimo Sig. Conte Niccolò Soderini, Quadro grande rappr. l'Assunta di Niccolò Pusino" (see Waga, 1968); acquired by the count of Exeter before 1794 and remained in the Exeter collection until 1962 (the Burghley House inventory, which was drawn up by Drownlow Cecil, ninth count of Exeter, before his death in 1794, mentions the painting and confirms its Soderini provenance); sold in 1962 by the sixth marquess of Exeter [to Wildenstein, New York]; National Gallery of Art, 1963.

Exhibitions: Rome, 1750 (see Waga, 1968); Paris, 1960, no. 7, ill.

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1966, see Blunt. See also Thuillier, 1961, p. 341, n. 44; Blunt, 1966, no. 92, ill. (fig. 92 mistakenly reproduces the Louvre painting of the same subject; the Washington painting is reproduced as fig. 93); Blunt, 1967, pp. 72-73, 85, 103, pl. 216; Waga, 1968, p. 7; Badt, 1969 (I) pp. 573, 633, no. 140 (II) fig. 54; Wild, 1971, p. 351; Friedlaender and Blunt, 1974 (V) p. 82; Blunt, 1974, p. 762; Thuillier, 1974, no. B 28, ill. (French ed.); Wild, 1980 (II) p. 223, M.27, ill.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1963

Exhibited at the Louvre in 1960, the *Assumption of the Virgin* entered the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., in 1963. A copy of the painting, still today in the Ruspoli Palace, Rome, is mentioned three times in the eighteenth century (Blunt, 1966, p. 63; the copy was lent by the marchese Ruspoli to an exhibition in San Salvatore in Lauro in 1708 [Ghezzi, *Quadri delle Case de Prencipi in Roma*, manuscript, Rome Museum f° 141 r°, no. 145, kindly brought to our attention by M. C. Sahut]). Although the Soderini provenance (1750), often challenged, is now confirmed (Waga, 1968), it is not known when and by what means the painting left the Giustiniani collection, where it was cited before 1636. It is still possible, although unlikely, that the Soderini-Exeter-Washington painting is not the painting inventoried at the house of the marquis Vincenzo Giustiniani in 1638.

The attribution to Poussin was first challenged by Thuillier in 1961 and then more vigorously in 1974, when he



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wrote "the composition, the drawing, and, above all, the coloring are too unusual." Thuillier regards the work as "one of the masterpieces" of Mellin, "possibly from the end of the sixteen-thirties." Doris Wild's attribution to Mellin, first advanced in 1971, has recently been reaffirmed (1980).

Although we were, admittedly, disturbed by this reattribution, we now believe that a comparison in the present exhibition of the Washington canvas with a work on the same subject by Mellin, namely the *Assumption of the Virgin* from the museum at Ponce (No. 67), will demonstrate the weakness of the hypothesis. The tomb (intelligently positioned off center), which in its relation to the two columns forms a pyramidal composition, the swirling yet static group of the Virgin, and the palette with its harmony of deep blue, white, and red are all characteristic of Poussin. Indeed, one is surprised by "such a fluid analysis of light," by the almost eighteenth-century elegance, and by the "pictorial conception of form" (Thuillier, 1961). But these elements are by no means unique to this work; putti similar to these can be found in the Heinemann and Reinhart Holy Families, and creased folds of white linen can be seen in the foreground of the *Mystical Marriage of Saint Catherine*, now in the Edinburgh Museum; as for the almost pared down composition, it is not unlike that of the *Kingdom of Flora*, at Dresden.

These analogies lead to the problem of the dating of the painting. At one time, Blunt suggested a dating of about 1626. In 1974, however, he moved closer to Mahon (1962, p. 50 and n. 151; see also Kauffmann, 1961, p. 94, pl. p. 105), who, in accepting a date "at the end of the twenties or the beginning of the thirties," places the painting about 1631-1632. In our opinion, the Washington painting represents a turning point; a certain complexity in the modeling of

the faces is retained from works painted just after 1627, and the blue robe of the Virgin, with its ample drapery, recalls the drapery of *Saint James the Major*, in the Louvre. Yet already the architectural elements with their sharp edges (looking toward the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, London, and the *Adoration of the Magi*, Dresden); the gray clouds (*Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, Cleveland); the crystalline, sunny light; and above all, the rhythmic balance of the composition herald Poussin's years of maturity, 1630-1640. During this period of artistic fulfillment, the artist, with a touch of affectation, conceals the effort expended on his work, seeking above all to seduce the viewer with a heightened elegance and a display of virtuosity. A work of charm and grace, the Washington canvas demonstrates that Poussin was more than an austere painter and that in his approach to a subject of great seriousness, he was capable of great seduction.

89. **

The Triumph of Neptune

Canvas, 144.5 × 147 cm

Provenance: Collection of Cardinal Richelieu (at Richelieu, where one of the rooms in the château was called "la Chambre de Neptune" [?]); not mentioned in the unpublished inventory of the cardinal's palace, which lists only three paintings by Poussin (information kindly communicated by Mrs. Honor Levi); according to the Montreal exhibition catalogue, 1967 (entry by A. B.), the work may have come from the château de Rueil. Belonged to Fromont de Brévannes from 1686 (Wild, 1980 [II] p. 66), certainly from 1700, the date of the death of Jean Pesne (1623-1700), who engraved the composition indicating the name of its owner. Probably the "Vénus triomphante sur les eaux" mentioned as being in the Hôtel de Bretonvilliers, Paris, in 1713 by Brice ([II] p. 163; he cites the *Rape of the Sabine Women* [No. 90] as being in the same collection at this date). Apparently did not belong to Pierre Crozat (d. 1740; Stufmann, 1968), but was in the collection of his nephew Louis-Antoine Crozat, baron de Thiers (cat. 1755, p. 55); sold by him in 1771 to Catherine II of Russia; sold by the Soviet government in 1930; Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1932.

Exhibitions: Philadelphia, 1950-1951, no. 45, ill.; Cologne, 1959 (no cat.); Paris, 1960, no. 47, ill.; New York, Wildenstein, 1961, no. 13, ill.; Seattle, 1962, p. 80; Montreal, 1967, no. 136, colorpl.; Edinburgh, 1981, no. 27, ill.

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1966, see Blunt, 1966, no. 167, ill.; see also Sterling in *Poussin* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1960, pp. 231-232; Friedlaender, 1965, p. 130, colorpl. p. 131, and cover colorpl.; Blunt, 1967, pp. 147, 151, pl. 91; Sommer, 1968, pp. 440-444; Badt, 1969 (I) pp. 518-520, 634, no. 181 (II) pl. 95; Thuillier, 1969, pp. 112-113, pl. 27; Vivian, 1969, p. 722; Thuillier, 1974, no. 93, ill., colorpls. XXVIII-XXXI (the painting and details); Turner, 1974, pp. 42-43, fig. 2, p. 41; Rosenberg in *Poussin* (exh. cat.) Rome, 1977-1978, pp. 167-168 (see also German ed., Düsseldorf, 1978, p.

102); Simon, 1978, pp. 65-66, fig. 2, p. 65; Blunt, 1979, p. 90; Wild, 1980 (II) p. 66, no. 66, ill.

Philadelphia Museum of Art
George W. Elkins Collection

This picture, one of the masterpieces of seventeenth-century European painting, has not yet revealed all its secrets: the circumstances of its commission and the interpretation of its subject are still keenly debated.

It is generally agreed that the Philadelphia canvas is associated with a work cited by, among others, Bellori (Borea ed., 1976, p. 437): "Fece ancora per lo medesimo cardinale di Richilieu (*sic*) il trionfo de Nettunno in mezzo il mare, nel suo carro tirato da cavalli marini, con seguito e scherzi di Tritoni e di Nereidi." The painting belonged subsequently to Fromont de Brévannes and, like the *Rape of the Sabine Women* (No. 90), it is mentioned as being at the Hôtel de Bretonvilliers. Sold in 1771 by Crozat de Thiers to Catherine II of Russia (the picture still has a Russian frame), it was sold again by the Soviet government in 1930, two years before it entered the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It is not known how it left the collection of Richelieu or how and when it was acquired by Crozat de Thiers (which must, in any case, have occurred before 1755). It is argued, on the one hand, that the painting was exhibited at the Palais Cardinal (now the Palais-Royal) in Paris and, on the other, that it was at the château de Richelieu. Doris Wild is satisfied with the first hypothesis (1980 [I] p. 62); Thuillier (1969, 1974) prefers the second, relying on a poem by Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin dating from 1653 (Thuillier, 1960 [II] p. 95), which in fact does not mention Poussin by name. If Thuillier's hypothesis is correct, it would be possible to consider the Philadelphia painting as one of the so-called Richelieu Bacchanals. Their number and the authenticity of the respective versions of the *Triumph of Pan, Bacchus, and Silenus* (see *Poussin* exh. cat., Rome-Düsseldorf, 1977-1978; Edinburgh, 1981) are still subject to discussion. For Thuillier, the presence of a marine Bacchanal in addition to the other Bacchanals would have been altogether "natural in that Richelieu very much wanted his role in the restoration of the French navy to be remembered." It would seem, however (Adelson, 1975), that if the Philadelphia painting was at the Poitou residence of the cardinal, it did not hang in the same room as the Poussin Bacchanals and the famous canvases by Mantegna, Perugino, and Costa (now in the Louvre) of Isabella d'Este's Studiolo.

The theme of the painting has in recent years been the subject of much lively debate (five articles appeared in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* between 1961 and 1968: Sommer [2], Levy, Dempsey [2]; see also Simon, 1978). Are we looking at a Triumph of Venus, a Birth of Venus (Simon), or more precisely a Venus Anadyomene, theme of the famous Ingres painting at Chantilly (Sommer-Dempsey hypothesis)? Or is the painting rather a Triumph



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of Neptune (the title used by earlier authors, such as Félibien, 1696 ed. [II] p. 329) and Amphitrite?

Blunt's solution (1967, p. 121) is feasible. He observes that several Poussin drawings (Friedlaender and Blunt [III] 1953, nos. 203, 205, 216) deal with the theme of the Birth of Venus and that it is not unlikely that Poussin was contemplating painting a picture on this subject when he received the commission for the *Triumph of Neptune*. "The most plausible solution," according to Blunt, seems to be that "Poussin was working simultaneously on several compositions with similar themes — a *Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite*, a *Birth of Venus*, and perhaps also a *Triumph of Galatea* — and that the painting which was the result bears the marks of the other subjects, although it represents *Neptune and Amphitrite*."

The date 1635-1636 for the Philadelphia painting, suggested by Grautoff, Mahon, and Blunt, is perhaps somewhat on the late side, and we prefer, following Jacques Thuillier, the date 1634, based on the links between the American canvas and the Dresden *Adoration of the Magi*. In our opinion, the painting is somewhat earlier than the Richelieu Bacchanals. Doris Wild (1980 [I] p. 62) recalls the fact that the painting was cited by Sandrart, indicating that it was earlier than 1636, the date at which the German art historian finally left Rome.

If, as observed by Friedlaender (1965), Poussin had in mind Raphael's *Triumph of Galatea* (of which the putto on the dolphin at center is an exact copy), the addition of Neptune to the left considerably expanded the composition. Despite the dark mass of the gray cloud that hovers over the main group (and by which the putti are made to stand out more clearly), the painting is one of Poussin's most brilliant, most luminous works. Sunlight rains down upon the naked gods, illuminates the drapery, and makes the wet bodies of the rearing seahorses and frolicking dolphins sparkle. Yet it is Poussin's almost provocative desire to break the momentum

of the composition, to immobilize the gestures of the figures, and to freeze time in a single moment that gives to the image its radiant strength and poetry and unifies the unreal with the eternal.

90.

The Rape of the Sabine Women

Canvas, 154.5 × 210 cm

Provenance: Possibly from the Cardinal Richelieu collection: a painting of this subject is mentioned in the unpublished inventory of the cardinal's palace, which was drawn up after his death (the inventory was discovered by Mrs. Honor Levi), but it only measures "3 *pieds* ½ de large × 4 *pieds* ½ de haut" (no. 1002 bis); the height is correct, but the New York painting is considerably wider. It was certainly in the collection of Marie de Wignerod de Pontcourlay, duchesse d'Aiguillon (1604-1675), Richelieu's niece and heiress to the cardinal who, according to the Meyers catalogue (1714), commissioned the painting; sold on her death by her heirs; it belonged c. 1685 to Jean Neret de La Ravoye (or Ravoir), Paris, and c. 1699-1700 to Bénigne Le Ragois de Bretonvilliers (1624-1700; Félibien, 1685, 1696 ed. [II] p. 327; Le Comte, 1699-1700, 1702 ed. [III] p. 26); in 1713 (Brice [II] p. 163) in the Hôtel de Bretonvilliers (with the Philadelphia *Triumph of Neptune*, No. 89); Jaques Meyers (Meyers) collection, Rotterdam, in 1714 (coll. cat., 1714, pp. 5-6); sold after Meyers's death, 9 Sept. 1722, no. 223 (50 florins; van Gelder, 1974). Henry Hoare collection, Stourhead Bath (Wiltshire), from 1762 (H. Walpole, 1927-1928 ed.); Hoare family until 1883; Hoare sale, Christie's, London, 2 June 1883, no. 63 [Lesser, London, 1883]; acquired 1883 by Sir Francis Cook, Doughty House, Richmond (Surrey); Cook collection until 1946; [Knödel, New York, 1946]; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1946.

Exhibitions: London, Royal Academy, 1870, no. 89; London, 1932, no. 137 (no. 122 in the 1933 commemorative catalogue); New York, *Art Treasures of the Metropolitan*, 1952, no. 114 (no cat.); Paris, 1960, no. 51, ill.; Washington-Toledo-New York, 1960-1961, no. 174 (exhibited New York only); Boston, 1970, p. 64, colorpl.; New York, 1970, no. 293, p. 267, ill., and colorpl. p. 51 (detail).

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1966, see Blunt; see also Mus. cat. (Sterling) 1955, pp. 70-72 and exh. cat., 1960-1961, no. 174. For colorpl. see Friedlaender, 1965, pp. 138-141, colorpl. p. 139. Essential bibliography since 1966: Blunt, 1966, no. 180, ill.; Blunt, 1967, pp. 151, 237, pl. 113; Rosenberg, Florence (exh. cat.) 1969, p. 26; Badt, 1969 (I) pp. 320-325, 635, no. 204 (II) pls. 106, 199 (color); Thuillier, 1969, p. 113; Held and Posner, 1972, p. 152, ill. p. 125, colorpl. 13; Thuillier, 1974, no. 88, ill.; van Gelder, 1974, p. 172, pl. 48; Arikha, *L'enlèvement des Sabines* (exh. cat.) Louvre, 1979, ill.; Blunt, 1979, p. 41; Mus. cat. (Baetjer) 1980 (I) p. 144 (III) ill. p. 484; Hibbard, 1980, p. 311, fig. 556 in color; Wild, 1980 (II) p. 62, no. 62, ill.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund



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Although the origin of the commission of this version of the *Rape of the Sabine Women* is not known, it is probable that the work was in the collection of Cardinal Richelieu (see Provenance). Doris Wild's hypothesis (1980) that the work was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini as a gift to Richelieu has not been verified. In any case, it is certain that in 1675 the painting belonged to the cardinal's niece and heiress, the duchesse d'Aiguillon. (According to the 1714 catalogue of the Meiyers collection, it was for the duchesse that Poussin painted the canvas.) Florent Le Comte, Félibien, and Brice each mention the painting, which was in Rotterdam in the collection of Jaques Meiyers between 1714 and 1722. From Rotterdam it went to England before being acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1946. The painting was well known from the seventeenth century onward; there is a splendid copy in the Warschaw collection, Los Angeles (*The Warschaw Collection Los Angeles* exh. cat., Budapest, 1971, no. 59, ill.). Claudine Bouzonnet-Stella apparently owned a copy (which may have been a copy of the Louvre version; Guiffrey, 1877, p. 36, no. 100), and the composition was engraved by Jean Audran (1667-1756). Because the painting was taken to Holland in 1714, it soon ceased to be mentioned by French authors, who more often cited the version in the royal collections, now in the Louvre. The Louvre version, which is of comparable size, was painted, according to Bellori, for Cardinal Aluigi Omodei (1608-1685) and belonged to Louis XIV in the year of the prelate's death. Although several preparatory drawings for the Louvre version are known, only one drawing has so far been found (at Windsor) that relates to the New York canvas (Friedlaender and Blunt, 1949 [II] no. 117, pl. 93).

Opinion is divided on the dating of the two versions. Friedlaender, Sterling (Mus. cat., 1955), Blunt, and Wild believe the New York version to have succeeded the one in the Louvre. Costello (1947), Mahon (1965, pp. 116-118), Thuillier, Rosenberg, and Avigdor Arikha (author of the

recent *Dossier du Département des Peintures*, devoted exclusively to the Paris version) are of the opposite opinion. The date 1634-1635 for the New York version (thus, shortly following the Dresden *Adoration of the Magi*, 1633) and 1637-1638 for the Louvre version are quite convincing.

"The New York version," to quote Arikha, "is more purified, conforms more to the classical ideal as expressed by Sacchi in debates at the Accademia di San Luca, 1634-1637; the subject is treated by means of expression and gesture, with fewer figures than in the Louvre version." The brilliancy and freedom of the palette, the firm, sculptural modeling of the clearly contoured bodies is also characteristic of Poussin's works executed between 1630 and 1635.

The celebrated story of the Rape of the Sabine Women (see also No. 101) was told by Titus Livius, Plutarch, Ovid, and Virgil: Because the population of the newly founded city of Rome was composed largely of soldiers, it was necessary to find young women. Romulus, ruler of the city, decided to invite his neighbors, the Sabines, to a feast, and at his signal, each Roman soldier was to seize a Sabine woman. Poussin depicts Romulus standing on a platform and lifting a corner of his cloak, the signal for the abduction to begin. Unlike Pietro da Cortona, who had tackled the same theme a few years earlier (Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome), Poussin arrests movement and freezes gesture. The composition unfolds in a succession of planes. Each group is the focus of special study; each gesture is individually motivated; each face has its own expression of violence, of terror, or of dread. The composition is, nevertheless, arranged around highly calculated points of convergence. Poussin "abolished the illusionary impression of depth," thus enhancing the whirling rhythm of the composition, punctuated by the lashing of swords. Beyond its display of virtuosity and technical mastery, the painting portrays the passions that served, unwittingly "the dictates of destiny, for here was born the future triumph of Rome" (Thuillier).

91.

Landscape with Saint John on Patmos

Canvas, 102 × 136 cm

Provenance: Abate Gian Maria Roscioli collection, Rome (1609 Foligno; Rome 1644); acquired by Roscioli, 28 Oct. 1640, for 40 scudi, with *Landscape with Saint Matthew*, now in Berlin (Barroero and Corradini, 1979); mentioned in the 1641 inventory of Montecavallo Palace. Robit sale, Paris, 11 May 1801, no. 91; acquired by Bryan (Buchanan, 1824 [II] p. 59) (in fact, the Robit sale catalogue gives the name of the purchaser as "Naudoux" and the price as



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7,100 francs) and exhibited by Bryan in London, 1801-1802, no. 29; acquired by Sir Simon Robert Clarke; Clarke sale, Christie's, London, 8 May 1840, no. 39; acquired by Andrew Geddes; Geddes sale, Christie's, London, 12 Apr. 1845, no. 65 (367 guineas 10), bought back, since in 1861 the painting belonged to Mrs. Geddes (London [exh. cat.] 1861). Acquired by Max Rothschild, 1918; [E. A. Fleischmann, Munich, 1930]. A. A. Munger, Chicago; The Art Institute of Chicago, 1930.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution (not Royal Academy), 1861, no. 22; Chicago, 1933, no. 226, pl. 45; Chicago, 1934, no. 147; Worcester, 1948, no. 7, ill. p. 14; Toledo-Minneapolis, 1959, pp. 27-28, pl. 19; Paris, 1960, no. 68, ill.; Northampton, *Individual Masterpieces Exhibition*, 1961 (no cat.); New York, Wildenstein, 1967, no. 68, ill.; Chicago, *The Artist Looks at the Landscape*, 1974 (no cat.); New York, Wildenstein, 1975, no. 51; Rome, 1977-1978, no. 28, ill.; Düsseldorf, 1978, no. 27, ill.

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1966, see Blunt; see also Friedlaender, 1965, p. 170, colorpl. p. 171; Blunt, 1966, no. 86, ill.; Blunt, 1967, pp. 248, 272-273, 283, pls. 151, 152; Badt, 1969 (I) pp. 573, 634, no. 149 (II) pl. 120; Hibbard, 1974, p. 35, fig. 12; Thuillier, 1974, no. 137, ill. (French ed.); Blunt, 1978, p. 421; Mus. cat. (*100 Masterpieces*) 1978, no. 57, colorpl. 20; Barroero, 1979, pp. 72-73, fig. 4; Corradini, 1979, pp. 192, 194, no. 81, p. 196, n. 65; Whitfield, 1979, p. 10; Wild, 1980 (II) p. 107, no. 114, ill.

The Art Institute of Chicago
A. A. Munger Collection

Recently published archival documents (Barroero, 1979; Corradini, 1979) have made possible the identification of the first owner and probably also the commissioner of the painting, the abate Gian Maria Roscioli, a prelate well known at the court of Pope Urban VIII. On 28 October 1640, the day of Poussin's departure for Paris, the abate entered the picture in his account book together with its pendant, the *Landscape with Saint Matthew*, now in the Berlin Museum. He paid forty scudi for the pair. At his death in 1644, he offered the *Saint Matthew* to Cardinal Antonio Barberini the Elder. It was in the Barberini collection and subsequently in that of the Colonna di Sciarra until 1873,

when it was bought by the Berlin Museum. In contrast, the Chicago canvas must have been quickly sold by the heirs of the abate Roscioli. There is an engraving by Louis de Châtillon (1639-1734), which could mean that the work was already in France by the end of the seventeenth century. The picture was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the same collection as the *Holy Family* in the Fogg Art Museum (No. 93).

The surviving documents indicate that the two paintings were conceived as pendants (as the Rome-Düsseldorf exhibition has confirmed) and also that if Poussin originally intended a series of four canvases on the theme of the apostles, he executed only two of them. The most important information found in these documents concerns chronology. Poussin specialists had agreed, for once unanimously, that the two works date from shortly after the artist's return to Rome, about 1643-1645. In fact, the paintings precede the journey to Paris, which somewhat modifies our conception of the role of landscape in Poussin's work.

This would suggest that the artist emphasized nature in his work to the detriment of human figures earlier than was previously thought. Here they seem to be drowning, almost melting into the landscape. Saint John, seen in profile and seated in a rather uncomfortable position, writes in the sunny campagna, accompanied by his eagle (perhaps conceived in two drawings, Friedlaender and Blunt, 1974 [V] nos. 381, 382, pl. 283; Blunt, 1978, p. 421). The obelisk, temple, ruins, and fragments of columns symbolize the ancient world, the foundation of the New Testament. A landscape of true nobility, domesticated and recreated by the painter's eye, the Chicago painting is among those that particularly appeal to contemporary taste. A feeling of timeless serenity separates the work of Poussin from that of the Italian and foreign landscape painters active in Rome at this time. The German Nazarenes, nearly two centuries later, would adopt Poussin's example without in any way achieving the calm grandeur of his art.

92.

The Nurture of Jupiter

Canvas, 117.5 × 155.5 cm

Provenance: Collection of Sir Robert Walpole, Houghton Hall, 1736 (catalogue by Horace Walpole, 1736, p. 15); Horace Walpole collection, Strawberry Hill, 1764 (cat. 1764, p. 75; *The Works of Horace Walpole*, 1798 ed. [II] p. 470); sold at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, by George Robins, 18 May 1842, p. 211, no. 46; acquired for 75 guineas by Sir John Easthope. Mrs. Doyle; Major Uvedale Corbett, Bridgnorth (Shropshire); Major Cecil Corbett, Stableford Hall Salop (these last three references were given to the



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National Gallery by Marshall Spink) [Marshall Spink, London]; [Wildenstein, New York, 1947]; Samuel H. Kress, 1947; National Gallery of Art, 1952.

Bibliography: For extensive bibliography, see Colin Eisler (Kress cat.) Washington, 1977, pp. 280-282. In addition: Schneider, 1924, p. 280, n. 2; Blunt, 1948, p. 8; Friedlaender and Blunt, 1953 (III) pp. 13-14, under no. 165; Blunt, 1961, p. 457 and n. 9, also fig. 25, p. 459; Blunt, 1966, p. 175, no. R 80; Wild, 1967, pp. 3, 43, n. 33; Frégnac, 1969, p. 52, fig. 6; Friedlaender and Blunt, 1974 (V) p. 103; Thuillier, 1974, p. 122, no. R 71, ill. (see also Italian ed.); Bjurström, 1976, under no. 628 (ill.); Blunt, 1979 (I) pp. 129-130, fig. 5, p. 144, n. 24; Wild, 1980 (I) pp. 71-72 (II) p. 89, no. 94, ill.

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Samuel H. Kress Collection 1952

The theme of the Nurture of Jupiter inspired many artists in the seventeenth century. According to the myth, Jupiter is taken by his mother, Ops, to Mount Ida on the island of Crete in order to hide him from his father, Saturn, who has in the past devoured his children. Jupiter is suckled by the she-goat Amalthea (Callimachus) or by the nymph of the same name (Ovid), while the nymph Melissa prepares honeycombs for him.

Two copies (?) of the Washington painting exist: one, in Argentina, has been cited by Colin Eisler (1977); the second is (or was formerly) in the George Tait collection at Malibu (Bertin-Mouroit, 1948, p. 72, ill., and p. 51, n. 4) and is considered by Agnes Mongan (1962 [III] text for pl. 660) of better quality than the Washington canvas. The Washington version, published by Blunt in 1948 as a Poussin, was attributed in 1961 by the same author to an imitator whom he named the Master of Hovingham. In the preceding year, Jacques Thuillier (III) p. 42) rejected the attribution to Poussin of the Tait version. In 1974, Thuillier proposed the name Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy for the Washington painting, whereas Blunt (1979) cites the artist as "Nicolas Poussin?" Among those who favor an attribution to Poussin

are Walter Friedlaender (who in 1974 wrote an unpublished study on the painting; see archives of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), Doris Wild (1980), Denis Mahon, and the author (Eisler cat., 1977). We shall attempt to defend this attribution.

A drawing in Stockholm (Bjurström, 1976) to which two (Blunt, 1979), perhaps three (Wild, 1980), other sheets have recently been added has been the cause of some embarrassment to those who reject the Poussin attribution. Are the drawings, which are admittedly somewhat remote from the Washington canvas but are taken to be early conceptions of the work, by the same hand as the painting? Or are they, as Blunt thinks (correctly, in our opinion) by Poussin? In Blunt's opinion, they could have been used by the Master of Hovingham to produce his canvas. Let us reexamine the problem of the attribution: The Master of Hovingham is an artist whose artistic personality is easily recognizable. The Washington painting is in a completely different style and of much better quality. As for Dufresnoy, his artistic personality is even more mysterious, yet the little we know of his work (paintings at Évreux, at Florence, formerly at Berlin, and the unpublished *Pentecost* of the church in Lagny) is even further removed from the painting at Washington. Thuillier, although he finds the composition "clumsy," nevertheless recognizes its "excellence of execution."

Let us examine this execution. Some of the details are of the first order: the reflections in the water in the foreground, the pebbles on the ground, the reeds and drapery, and the inwardly smiling faces of the figures. Indeed, only one section is frankly disappointing, that of the shepherd's torso at the extreme left. Rather than explain this as the result of clumsy restoration, could it not be argued that this is the result of the intervention of a collaborator of Poussin's who "finished" the painting and "touched up" certain details? As for the composition, it can hardly have been thought unusual, since the central figures, as is common in Poussin's work, stand out against rocks on which rest two reclining nymphs. This hypothesis is all the more plausible if the painting dates from about 1639 and if it is compared to *Venus Showing Aeneas His Armor* (Rouen), a work whose attribution has not to date been challenged. It is true that there is a certain unpleasantly awkward quality in the setting of the two works, a kind of rigidity, an absence of movement that is at first disturbing; nevertheless, we have no choice but to support the conclusion of Colin Eisler, who wrote, in 1977, "If the Rouen painting is by Poussin, as the majority of critics believe, then the Kress canvas must also be by him."

Poussin had already twice tackled the subject of the Nurture of Jupiter, a subject that also attracted Poussin's imitators (see No. 19); the two other paintings, at Dulwich and at Berlin, are both smaller than the Washington canvas and must have been painted slightly earlier. Each of the three variations, painted, in our opinion, within a fairly short span

of time (five years at most), provided a new opportunity for the artist to recreate the theme of the child miraculously saved and protected and destined to change the course of history.

93.

The Holy Family

Canvas, 98 × 129.5 cm

Provenance: Engraved by Jean Pense (1623-1700) while the painting belonged to Jean Fromont de Veine. A proof of this engraving at the Bibliothèque Nationale is dated 1678 by Pierre Mariette (Wildenstein, 1957, p. 91, no. 53). Does this mean that Poussin's painting was in the Fromont de Veine collection from 1678 on? Mme d'Hariague collection, Paris sale, 14 Apr. 1750, no. 10; collection of Peillon, Secrétaire du Roi, sold after his death, Paris [16 May] 1763, no. 56; duc des Deux-Ponts collection (Christian IV von Zweibrücken), his sale, 6 Apr. 1778, no. 59; Robit sale, Paris, 11 May 1801, no. 88; acquired by Bryan (cat. 1801-1802, no. 22) for George Hibbert (Buchanan, 1824 [II] p. 57). Lord Radstock, Christie's, London, 12 May 1826, no. 33; collection of Sir Simon Robert Clarke, Oak III., Clarke sale, Christie's, London, 8 May 1840, no. 49; acquired by T. Hope for 260 guineas (Smith, 1842 [supp.] p. 802, no. 5); Hope heirlooms sale, Christie's, London, 20 June 1917, no. 68; acquired [by Tooth]; [Trotti, Paris]; acquired from Trotti by Samuel Sachs: Fogg Art Museum, 1942.

Exhibitions: New York, 1940, no. 58, pl. p. 43; Pittsburgh, 1951, no. 58, ill.; Paris, 1960, no. 101, ill.; New York, Wildenstein, 1967, no. 69, ill.

Bibliography: For bibliography before 1966, see Blunt, 1966; see also Friedlaender, 1965, p. 166, colorpl. p. 167; since 1966, Blunt, 1966, no. 54, ill.; Blunt, 1967, pp. 184, 215, n. 20, pp. 257, 263, pl. 209; Badt, 1969 (I) pp. 31, 237, 365, 463, 501, 633, no. 131 (II) fig. 165; Kamenskaia and Novosselskaia, 1971, pp. 34-35, A.12; Friedlaender and Blunt, 1974 (V) p. 74; Thuillier, 1974, no. 176, ill. (French ed.); Freedberg, 1978, p. 397, fig. 18; Wild, 1980 (II) p. 154, no. 167, ill.; Christie's, London, 10 Apr. 1981, p. 207, under no. 100; Fredericksen, 1981, pp. 38-40.

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts Gift, Mrs. Samuel Sachs in memory of her husband, Samuel Sachs

The authenticity and the dating to 1650 of the Fogg Art Museum's *Holy Family* are universally accepted. Its provenance prior to 1750, however, as well as the name of its first owner, is still subject to discussion.

Before the Poussin exhibition of 1960, the majority of Poussin specialists accepted the hypothesis that the Fogg painting was confused with the one depicting a "group of children who tend the Infant Jesus after his bath, one of whom is in a position of adoration," which was described by Loménie de Brienne (in Thuillier, 1960 [II] p. 216) as



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belonging to the duc de Créqui. According to Félibien (1696 ed. [II] p. 358), the painting was commissioned by the duc in 1651, before he was named ambassador to Rome, and is cited in the inventory drawn up after his death in 1687 as a "Virgin with several figures and children, the pendant to Achilles," and estimated in value at 4,000 livres (Magne, 1939, p. 186; the "Achilles" would be the *Achilles Discovered Among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, probably the painting now at Richmond; see Inventory). It is not unlikely that the Créqui painting is none other than the *Holy Family* with eleven figures, at Chatsworth, recently sold at Christie's, London (10 April 1981, no. 100) and jointly acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum at Malibu and the Norton Simon Foundation. As for the Fogg painting, from 1678 onward it belonged to Jean Fromont de Veine (see Provenance), who also owned Poussin's *Death of Sapphira*, now in the Louvre. Félibien (1696 ed. [II] pp. 433-435) and Florent Le Comte (1702 ed. [III] p. 32) both mention a *Holy Family* by Poussin in the residence of this collector, although both of them state (incorrectly) that "the Virgin in a landscape" [was] accompanied by five other figures. The date of the work, 1650, is evident from the style of the painting and can be confirmed by comparing it with a drawing at the British Museum (Friedlaender and Blunt, 1939 [I] pp. 28-29, no. 55, pl. 34). To the left in this drawing, a fairly detailed study for the Fogg painting, is a rough draft of a letter by Poussin, written during the summer of 1650.

The theme of the *Holy Family* had always interested the artist. It was during the 1650s, however, that he treated it most frequently. In each painting he modifies the number of children who accompany the group of the Virgin, Christ, Saint Joseph, and Saint Elizabeth (in this case, there are five children including the young Saint John), and in each he varies the composition (generally in width). The expressions of the figures who in this painting are all turned toward the Virgin, who in turn leans toward her son, are an essential

element in the painting. Each of these variations is unique in a way that is similar to Raphael's variations. Here, the landscape and, above all, the lake in the background which reflects the habitual buildings, are given considerable importance. Poussin accentuates the imposing stone structure with its sharp, salient angles, in front of which is the figure of Saint Joseph.

At this point in his career, Poussin, although he delighted in the juxtaposition of lively colors — strident reds and blues — which at times have a brutality brought out by restoration, and although he accorded great importance to the structure of his compositions, he in no way neglected the moral content of his work. The Fogg's *Holy Family* may be interpreted as an allegory of redemption, the bathing of the Infant Jesus a symbol of purification. What is astonishing is that the artist was able to treat in a new way both the form and content of this subject about which, it would have seemed, nothing more could have been said.

94.

The Blind Orion Searching for the Rising Sun

Canvas, 119 × 183 cm

Provenance: Painted for Michel Passart (Bellori) in 1658 (Félibien). Collection of Pierre de Beauchamp, master of the king's ballet, c. 1687 (Brice, 1687 ed., p. 51). Andrew Hay, London; Cock sale, London, 15 Feb. 1745, no. 46; acquired at this sale by the duke of Rutland; sold by John, third duke of Rutland, London, in 1758, no. 60; acquired by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Collection of Charles-Alexandre de Calonne; Calonne sale, Skinner and Dycke, London, 28 Mar. 1795, no. 98; acquired by Bryan, through private agreement, 27 Apr. 1795; Noël Desenfans, sale of paintings acquired by him on behalf of the king of Poland, Skinner and Dycke, London, 18 Mar. 1802, no. 172; Philip Panné, Christie's, London, 26 Mar. 1819, no. 63; collection of the painter Féréol de Bonnemaïson before 1821 (see Devries, 1981); between 1821 and 1847, collection of Reverend John Sandford at Nynehead Court, Somerset; collection of Lord Methuen, Sandford's son-in-law; sold by Methuen's son, Paul Sandford Methuen, third baron Methuen, Corsham Court (Wiltshire); Tancred Borenius then bought the painting for Lord Harewood, who refused it; [Durlacher Brothers, London and New York]; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1924.

Exhibitions: London, British Institution, 1821, no. 45 (not no. 15); London, British Institution, 1839, no. 46; London, British Institution, 1847, no. 10; London, Royal Academy, 1877, no. 259; Toronto, *The Classical Contribution to Western Civilization*, 1948-1949 (no cat.); Detroit-Toronto-St. Louis-Seattle, 1951-1952 (neither cat. nor title); Paris, 1960, no. 113, ill.; Washington-Toledo-New York, 1960-1961, no. 175 (exhibited New York only); Leningrad-Moscow, 1975, no. 48, color ill.



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Bibliography: For bibliography before 1966, see Blunt (see also Charles Sterling, catalogue of French paintings, Metropolitan Museum, 1955). Blunt, 1966, no. 169, ill.; Blunt, 1967, pp. 214, 299, 313, 315-316, 319, 329, 326-327, 331, 334, 354, 356, pls. 237, 238; Badt, 1969 (I) pp. 541-543, 634, no. 182 (II) pl. 176; Thuillier, 1969, p. 136, pl. 98; Simon, 1970, colorpl. and detail on cover; Gombrich, 1972, pp. 119-122; Held and Posner, 1972, colorpl. 13, p. 125; Thuillier, 1974, no. 205, ill. (French ed.); Sutton, 1978, p. 298; Wild, 1980 (II) p. 186, no. 198, ill.; Mus. cat. (Baetjer) 1980 (I) p. 144 (III) ill. p. 485; Hibbard, 1980, p. 311, fig. 556; Devries, 1981, pp. 83, 96, n. 44.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Fletcher Fund

The painting is incontestably one of Poussin's masterpieces. Painted in 1658 for Michel Passart, Auditeur and then Maître des Comptes in Paris, and a man of somewhat pedantic erudition, the work remained in England almost continuously for two centuries before it was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1924. Notable among its many famous owners are Sir Joshua Reynolds; Calonne; Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski, king of Poland; and the painter and picture dealer Féréol de Bonnemaïson. In 1931 the painting was studied by Tancred Borenius, who carefully researched its provenance, and in 1944 it was the subject of what is today a well-known article by Gombrich (reprinted 1972), who identified Poussin's literary sources and defined the painting's subject.

The theme is one that has rarely been treated (the beautiful Bellange drawing in the Metropolitan Museum should not, however, be ignored). Inspired by Lucian, Ovid, and above all by Natalis Comes (Natali Conti, 1520-1582), Poussin created one of the most striking and most moving images in all of Western painting. The giant hunter Orion, blinded by King Oenopion of Chios for having, in a drunken stupor, violated his daughter, has been advised by an oracle that the sun's rays can restore his sight. Guided by Cedalion, astride his shoulders, and Hephaistos (Vulcan), who stands on the

ground, Orion is directed toward the East, while Diana, who loves him, looks down from the sky.

According to Natalis Comes, Orion had three fathers, Jupiter, Apollo, and Neptune — symbols of the air, sun, and rain, which together produce clouds. Poussin accordingly gives central importance to the great trails of gray, which prevent the sun's rays from touching the giant's eyes and allude to the strange parentage of Orion, who is himself a kind of living cloud.

Influenced by the pantheistic, or rather (as Blunt observes), the panpsychic ideas of Tommaso Campanella (a philosopher under the patronage of the Barberini and thus probably known also by Poussin), the artist sought to paint the elements in their cycles, the creative power of nature in her ever-renewed abundance, and the sun as the source of life. It is extraordinary that despite such a program, the work is neither literary nor pedantic in feeling.

On the eve of his death, Poussin was still able to show his technical virtuosity and his genius for the ordering of form. Free of all constraints, he painted works without precedent in the history of art and unrelated to what was then painted in Rome.

Rather than quote once again the poem by Sacheverell Sitwell (see Gombrich) or Claude Simon's *Orion aveugle* (Geneva, 1970), we shall evoke the lines of Baudelaire's "Élévation" (*Les Fleurs du Mal*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, N.R.F. [I] 1975, p. 10), the last words of which will doubtless be familiar to the readers of Poussin's *Correspondance*:

Celui dont les pensées, comme des alouettes,
Vers les cieux le matin prennent un libre essor,
— Qui plane sur la vie, et comprend sans effort
Le langage des fleurs et des choses muettes.

RÉGNIER Nicolas Nicolò Renieri

(1591 Maubeuge; Venice 1667)

The decision to include Régnier in an exhibition devoted to French painting is not a matter of "imperialism" or chauvinism; rather, it was unthinkable for us to separate the paintings of this artist from those of Valentin, Tournier, and even Vouet — his friends and fellow artists in Rome from 1620 to 1625.

Born at Maubeuge on the border between France and Flanders, Régnier was trained at Antwerp by Abraham Janssens, in whose atelier a whole group of Caravaggesque painters worked at one time or another (Ducamps, Rombouts, Stomer, and perhaps Gérard Seghers). About 1615, Régnier was in Rome, where he was fre-

quently mentioned between 1621 and 1625 and where he was highly regarded among the artists of the Flemish colony. According to Sandrart, he was a student of Manfredi's and official painter to the marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani. He left Rome early in 1626 to establish himself in Venice, where he earned his living as much from his paintings as from evaluating and dealing in works of art. Two of his daughters, famed for their beauty, married painters, Daniele Van den Dyck and Pietro della Vecchia.

Régnier went through a Caravaggesque phase that, although strongly influenced by the Manfrediana Methodus, already shows much originality. Soon after his arrival in Venice, his style changed radically. His paintings gained clarity; they became elegant, shimmering, and sensual. A prolific painter, Régnier produced portraits, allegories, church paintings, and genre scenes. He has been studied in depth by Pier Luigi Fantelli (1974).

95.

Young Man with a Sword (Self-Portrait ?)

Canvas, 73 × 61.5 cm

Provenance: Could be confused with the "ritratto del med.mo Nicolo Ranieri Pittore fatto da se medesimo in tela da testa," listed in the 1638 inventory of the Giustiniani collection (Salerno, 1960, p. 147, no. 260). The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1941.

Bibliography: Richardson, 1942, p. 236, fig. 1, p. 234; Mus. cat., 1967, p. 94; Bodart (I) 1970, p. 90, n. 7; Fredericksen and Zeri, 1972, p. 174; Fantelli, 1973, p. 153, fig. 2; Fantelli, 1974, p. 94, no. 26; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin (exh. cat.) Rome-Paris, 1973-1974, p. 243 (Italian ed.) p. 250 (French ed.); Pallucchini, 1981 (I) p. 152 (II) fig. 432.

The Detroit Institute of Arts
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Reichhold

During his long career, Régnier seems to have attached greater importance to portraiture than any other Caravaggesque painter. Of his nine paintings in the collection of the marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, two are portraits, one is a self-portrait, and another is a portrait of the marchese (Salerno, 1960, p. 147, nos. 259, 260). The Detroit painting was identified as being by Régnier in 1942 by Richardson. The work raises two questions: Was it painted in Rome, that is, before 1625 (Pallucchini, 1981), or was it painted in Venice (Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, 1973-1974)? If it was painted in Rome, it may well be the *Self-Portrait* in the Giustiniani collection, since it bears such a strong resemblance to the *Self-Portrait with an Easel*, formerly in the Haussmann collection, Berlin (deposited several years ago in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge; Nicolson, 1979, fig. 57).



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We ourselves are tempted to share this opinion, although the Brussels drawing (Bodart, 1972, p. 96, fig. 1; Fantelli, 1973, fig. 1) neither contradicts nor confirms the identification.

The artist observes himself with great care; he uses light to accentuate his features and to make his face stand out against the neutral background. His expression is alert. Régnier carries a sword — something that would not have been customary for an artist of the period to do but which perhaps refers to the many scuffles and brawls in which he was involved during his stay in Rome (Bertolotti, 1886, pp. 98-99).

There remain the problems of the date of the painting, which could, in our opinion, hardly be later than 1620, and its stylistic origins. Although this somewhat cold psychological analysis may be considered Caravaggesque, it should nevertheless be placed closer to Domenichino's *Self-Portrait* in the Uffizi (Borea, 1965, pl. G, pp. 128-129), which was probably painted about ten years earlier.

96.

The Penitent Magdalen

Canvas, 122 × 96.5 cm

Provenance: Munich art market in 1922; Julius Haass collection, Detroit, 1924-1925. The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1938.

Exhibitions: Detroit, 1937, no. 40; Cleveland, 1971-1972, no. 54, ill.

Bibliography: Voss, 1924, p. 180, fig. p. 144; Voss, 1924-1925, pp. 124-125, pl. p. 122; Richardson, 1939, pp. 1-3, pl. on cover;



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Richardson, 1942, pp. 234-235, fig. 4, p. 238; Donzelli-Pilo, 1967, pp. 342, 343; Mus. cat., 1967, p. 94; Fredericksen and Zeri, 1972, p. 174; Volpe, 1972, p. 72; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, p. 242 (Italian ed.) p. 250 (French ed.); Fantelli, 1974, p. 81, n. 40, pp. 82, 94, no. 25, fig. 11 p. 178; Spear, 1975, pp. 148-149, ill.; Moir, 1976, p. 143, n. 239, fig. 39; Nicolson, 1979, p. 80; Cuzin, 1980, p. 20, fig. 8 p. 22; Pallucchini, 1981 (I) pp. 149-150 (II) fig. 418.

The Detroit Institute of Arts
Gift of Mrs. Trent McMath

Of all Régnier's Magdalens known today, the one in the Detroit Institute, identified in 1924-1925 by Hermann Voss, has always been considered the earliest. It is our belief, however, that the Magdalen painted by Régnier for his patron, the marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, after a work by Caravaggio (Salerno, 1960, p. 101, no. 155, in our opinion, wrongly identified by Moir with the painting in the Bordeaux Museum [1976, p. 112, no. 69e]) was painted even earlier.

Critical opinion is unanimous in dating the Detroit canvas to the end of the artist's stay in Rome, about 1625. From Caravaggio are derived the chiaroscuro, the brutal light effects, and the warm, saturated colors. From his master Manfredi, whom Régnier also copies (*Fortune Teller*, Rust collection, Washington, D.C.; Cuzin, 1980, p. 19, fig. 5), is borrowed a superficial naturalism distinct from the abstract, refined realism of Caravaggio. The sensuality is inspired by Vouet. From this time onward, Régnier appears to have been familiar with the Bologna school of painting, especially the Magdalens of Guido Reni. The present work, however, bears all the marks of the artist's own brilliant style: a certain shining quality, bursts of light on the hair and skull, a

troubled expression on a model chosen for her beauty, and a frank sensuality (compare, for instance Champaigne's *Magdalen*, No. 14).

After 1625, Régnier turns away from the manner of Caravaggio and his followers, transforming it into something that is somewhat ambiguous and down-to-earth, not without seduction but not on a lofty plane. And one can well understand, in contemplating the voluptuous indolence of the model, why the artist was so popular throughout his career.

SAINT-IGNY Jean de

(1595-1600? Rouen; Paris? after 1649)

Despite the publications of Chennevières (1847 [I] pp. 163-184) and Hédou (1887), the life of Jean de Saint-Igny remains largely unknown. In 1614 he was an apprentice at Rouen; in 1631 he participated in the founding of the Confrérie de Saint-Luc in the same town, and four years later he was named Maître. In 1632 he was living in Paris and received a commission for the Couvent des Augustins. He was in Rouen in 1641 but subsequently returned to Paris, where he was working in 1649.

Although little is known about Saint-Igny's life, his work is more familiar to us. This fairly prolific draftsman and engraver, who was still drawn to a somewhat flowery, Mannerist vocabulary (a beautiful example can be seen in the Department of Drawings, Metropolitan Museum) merits, among the witnesses of the manners and customs practiced during the reign of Louis XIII, an esteemed place beside Abraham Bosse. Saint-Igny painted some religious works (Adoration of the Magi, a sketch of which was recently acquired by the Dunkirk Museum; Shepherds, 1636, Rouen Museum; Assumption of the Virgin, 1636, Trinité de Fécamp). But above all he specialized in allegories (Air, Rouen; Sense of Smell, private collection, Paris) and in small history paintings that are halfway between genre scenes and portraits (Anne of Austria, Louis XIII, and Richelieu Attending a Performance at the Palais Cardinal, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; Louis XIII and Anne of Austria on Horseback, private collection, Paris; the Infant Louis XIV on Horseback, Nîmes; Louis XIV Departing for the Hunt, Chantilly). Whatever the subject, however, these paintings of Flemish inspiration, often in grisaille on wood, are painted with a panache and joyful extravagance that make them easily recognizable.



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97.

The Triumphal Procession of Anne of Austria and the Young Louis XIV

Panel, 28.5 × 38.5 cm

Provenance: Collection of Schamp d'Aveschoot, 1840 (according to the 1952 sale cat.). Collection of Lady Aldenham; Christie's, London, 27 June 1952, no. 35 (21 guineas); collection of George N. Northrop, then Mr. and Mrs. Harding F. Bancroft (née Jane C. Northrop); Vassar College, 1976.

Vassar College Art Gallery, Poughkeepsie
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Harding F. Bancroft

Apart from its artistic qualities, Saint-Igny's painting is of great iconographical interest. It portrays the young Louis XIV (1638-1715) on horseback, carrying in his hand the staff of command and wearing the Cordon du Saint-Esprit. He is crowned by Victory, and a herald proclaims his name. On his right is the queen regent, Anne of Austria (1601-1666), dressed in mourning (Louis XIII had died in 1643, six months after Richelieu), and the king's young brother, Philippe, duc d'Orléans, known as Monsieur (1640-1701); behind them are three dignitaries who have not yet been identified.

There can be no doubt about our recent attribution to Saint-Igny of this work previously given to Van Dyck. The attribution is confirmed by a comparison of the work with two other paintings by Saint-Igny that also depict the young Louis XIV on horseback (Nîmes; Condé Museum, Chantilly). The king seems to be slightly younger in the Vassar painting, where he can hardly be more than seven or eight years old, than in the other two panels. This allows us to date

the work between 1645 and 1646, a time when Saint-Igny was probably living in Paris.

In addition to its iconography, the Poughkeepsie painting is not without interest in terms of the history of fashion; let us note, for example, the typical high-crowned hat with narrow brim and large feathers worn by the king. In the first half of the century, many artists in the circle of Abraham Bosse made engravings that depicted the costumes and the customs of this refined society.

Although one can understand why the painting was formerly attributed to Van Dyck, who also specialized in equestrian portraits, the work is nonetheless highly characteristic of Saint-Igny. First in Rouen and then in Paris, the artist maintained a flowery and elegant Mannerist style, established by Lallemant and his followers at the beginning of the century, a style from which Vignon, despite the strong influence of Caravaggism, never entirely departed.

STELLA Jacques

(1596 Lyons; Paris 1657)

The son of François Stellaert, a painter of Flemish origins who worked in Lyons, Jacques Stella was from 1616 to 1622 in Florence, where he was acquainted with Jacques Callot and worked for Cosimo II de' Medici. In 1622-1623 he moved to Rome, where he stayed for ten years, forming a lifelong friendship with Poussin. He achieved celebrity in the Italian art world for his small paintings on marble and on lapis lazuli, and for his drawings and engravings (see the series Life of Saint Philip Neri, Yale University). After accompanying the maréchal Créquy, French ambassador to Rome, to Venice (1634), Stella stopped off at Lyons in 1635 before finally settling in Paris.

Once established, he succeeded in becoming Cardinal Richelieu's official painter. Showered with favors, Stella lived at the Louvre and was awarded the Ordre de Saint-Michel. He also received several important commissions, among them the chapel of the château de Saint-Germain (Rouen), Notre-Dame de Paris (Toulouse), the Church of Saint-Ayoud de Provins (still in its original place), and, in competition with Poussin and Vouet, the novitiate of the Jesuits (Notre-Dame des Andelys).

Despite Jacques Thuillier's fine article (1960 [II]), the research of Gilles Chomer, and that of Gail S. Davidson, which deals specifically with the artist's drawings, Stella remains one of the most neglected great French artists of the seventeenth century. His large sculptural figures with serious heavy faces, which attest to his knowledge of antiquity, are bathed in a cold abstract light. His mellowed palette and the porcelainlike execution of his last works make him a true precursor of neoclassicism.



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98.**

Susannah and the Elders

Marble, 25 × 35.5 cm

Signed and dated, on the back: *Jacobus Stella Lugdunensis faciebat// Romae 1631.*

Provenance: A wax seal with a coat of arms that we have been unable to identify appears on the back of both this painting and its pendant. The two works came from an early Italian sale, if we are to believe the labels on their backs. [Sestieri, Rome, before 1967]; [Hazlitt Gallery, London, 1967]; [David Carritt, London, 1974]; [Hazlitt Gallery, London]; [E. V. Thaw, New York].

Exhibitions: Hazlitt Gallery, London, 1967, no. 21, ill.

Bibliography: William Gaunt, *Apollo*, Oct. 1967, pp. 308, 309, fig. 2; B. N[icolson], *The Burlington Magazine*, 1967, p. 655, fig. 57; Rosenberg, Toronto-Ottawa-San Francisco-New York (exh. cat.) 1972-1973, p. 212; Davidson, 1975, p. 155, n. 6; Barroero, 1979, p. 21, n. 34.

Lent by David Rust

99.**

Joseph and Potiphar's Wife

Marble, 25 × 35.5 cm

Signed and dated, on the back: *Jacobus Stelle lugdunensis fecit// Romae 1631.*

Provenance: See No. 98.

Exhibitions: London, Hazlitt Gallery, no. 20, ill.

Bibliography: B. N[icolson], *The Burlington Magazine*, 1967, p. 655, fig. 58; Rosenberg, Toronto-Ottawa-San Francisco-New York (exh. cat.) 1972-1973, p. 212; Davidson, 1975, p. 155, n. 6; Barroero, 1979, p. 21, n. 34.

Lent by David Rust



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Painted in Rome in 1631, these two works recall one of Stella's specialties, namely painting on stone, lapis lazuli, or marble (called paragon marble if, as was often the case, the marble was black). Although Stella insisted on his French origins (in the beautiful calligraphy of his signatures on the back of his works), the stylistic source for these two works is rather to be found in Florence, where the artist completed his training from 1616 to 1622. The Florentine artists loved small works of art on stone, particularly those in which the stone and its natural marbling was used as an element of the painting (Florence exh. cat., 1970). Stella exploits to their natural limits the possibilities of his primary material, a beautiful pale-brown veined marble; the most prominent examples in *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* are the curtain above the bed and the bedside table, and in *Susannah and the Elders* the balustrade upon which the two elders lean as they spy upon Susannah, and indeed the columns of the balustrade as well. Even the water that gushes from the fountain, forming a solid sheet in the foreground, is derived from the veining of the marble. Occasionally Stella supplements or completes the drawing (as, for example, the window above the pool) by adding to the natural vein of the marble a few carefully placed brushstrokes. Much later in his career, Stella returned to the theme of *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (Guiffrey, 1877, p. 26, no. 9, perhaps the painting that hangs today at Barnard Castle). However, it should be noted that the protagonists of the two scenes are painted in a manner not in the least Florentine, for although realism was not altogether absent from seventeenth-century Florentine painting, the realism of these two works has a vigor tinged with irony that is more Flemish than Bolognese and recalls the Northern origins of Stella's father, François Stellaert.

By 1631, Stella had been in Rome for almost ten years. He was celebrated as an artist, and his position was secure within the colony of French painters in the papal city. His paintings on stone, often small devotional works (such as the *Magdalen*, Munich, signed and dated 1630; see also Barberini Inventories, edited by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin; and Bar-

roero, 1979), together with his engravings assured him a comfortable income. But Stella's ambitions went further as is evident from two drawings dated 1631: *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Louvre, Inv. 32892) and *Ippolito d'Este and Matthias Corvinus* (Oxford), both projects for large-scale religious or allegorical compositions.

These two virtuoso pieces, intended to astound and delight, are indicative of the fact that Stella not only admired Poussin unconditionally but that he also knew how to strike a balance between technical skill and humor.

100.

The Liberality of Titus

Canvas (oval), 178 × 147.5 cm

Provenance: Painted for the Cabinet du Roi in Richelieu's château (to be placed above the mantelpiece); replaced in the mid-18th century by a portrait of Maréchal Richelieu's mother (Grandmaison, 1882). Richard Gray collection, 1968; Fogg Art Museum, 1972.

Bibliography: Vignier, 1676, p. 67; Grandmaison, 1882, p. 212; Bonnaffé, 1884, p. 271; Blunt, 1971, p. 74, ill.; Rosenberg, Toronto-Ottawa-San Francisco-New York (exh. cat.) 1972-1973, p. 213; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (suppl.) Nov. 1973, p. 8, fig. 13; Adelson, 1975, p. 241, nn. 11, 26; *Le Studiolo d'Isabelle d'Este* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1975, p. 61, no. 173, ill.; Davidson, 1975, p. 154, n. 2; Freedberg, 1978, pp. 397, 396, fig. 16; Schloder, in press [1982].

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Gift in part, Lewis G. Nierman and Charles Nierman, and purchase in part, Alpheus Hyatt Fund

If the name Titus (A.D. 40-81) is famous because of its association with the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, and the annihilation of Pompei, all of which took place under his reign, it is identified equally with prodigality and extravagance, attributes that assured him great popularity during his reign as Roman emperor and of which his name is symbolic. Stella chose this generosity as a motif, cleverly transposing it into contemporary terms. While it was Blunt who recognized the work as a Stella, it was Jacques Thuillier (see Blunt, 1971) who made the connection between the painting in the Fogg Museum and that which originally decorated the fireplace in Richelieu's château in Indre-et-Loire. Vignier (1676), in describing the château (which today has sustained major losses), wrote that "the architecture and sculpture of the Cabinet du Roi surpassed in their beauty and delicacy all the rest of the Cabinet. Above the center of the fireplace, one sees an oval canvas in which the munificence of Titus is



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depicted by the hand of Monsieur Stella.” A short poem by Vignier provides a complete interpretation of the work:

Extravagance is loved everywhere,
Strangers and subjects alike fall prey to its charms,
There is no enemy who does not succumb to it,
And through it a good king triumphs.
Titus in this painting distributes
An infinity of riches among the Romans,
And they, the recipients of his generosity, show that
When hands are filled, hearts are opened.

That Stella should have given Titus, who wears a crown of laurel, features so clearly recognizable as those of Louis XIII would not have been considered unusual during the seventeenth century; and that the king is accompanied by Richelieu (whose coat of arms we see above the portal at right) is well explained by the painting’s destination. It is hardly surprising that Richelieu commissioned Stella to execute this work, since he was in many ways the cardinal’s favorite artist. However, considering that the Cabinet du Roi at Richelieu’s château was decorated with some of the most famous canvases in the history of painting, it is evident that the commission was a highly prestigious one, as well as an act of favor. The painting thus bears witness to the great esteem in which Stella was held. Indeed, in addition to the five paintings of the Studiolo of Isabella d’Este, including the celebrated *Parnassus* by Mantegna, probably bought by Richelieu between 1629 and 1636, the Cabinet du Roi was decorated with the famed *Bacchanals* by Poussin (see No. 89).

Stella could have painted the canvas neither before 1635 — the date of his return to France — nor after 1642-1643, when, within months of each other, both the king and his minister died. In 1636, Gaspard Daillon, bishop of Albi,

brought to Richelieu two of Poussin’s *Bacchanals* and subsequently wrote a description of the château; there is no mention of Stella’s canvas in this description. However, according to its style, the painting could not have been executed much later than this — perhaps about 1637-1638.

One point seems to confirm this hypothesis: surprise has been expressed at the groups of male and female dancers who occupy the whole of the lower part of the Fogg painting. But this is to forget that the painting was intended as part of an ensemble in which the theme of the dance was a central one. Stella’s canvas, which like Mantegna’s *Parnassus* develops on two levels, borrows several motifs from the *Bacchanals*. One might add that this admirer of Poussin’s painted rhythmical compositions, figures in pure profile with broad faces, dark eyes, and gracious expressions. Nevertheless, he avoids pastiche and retains an ease and clarity, a serenity and joyful calm from which he only rarely departed.

101.

The Rape of the Sabine Women

Canvas, 116 × 164 cm

The remains of an illegible signature on a stone, lower center:
FECIT//16..

Provenance: Formerly Lord Hesketh collection, Easton Neston (Northamptonshire); acquired [from Marshall Spink, London] by The Art Museum, Princeton, 1967.

Bibliography: Félibien, 1906 ed. (II) p. 657; Thuillier, 1960 (II) p. 109 (“lost”); *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, 1968, no. 1, p. 36, ill. (“French, Anonymous, 17th century”); Rosenberg, Toronto-Ottawa-San Francisco-New York (exh. cat.) 1972-1973, p. 213; Davidson, 1975, p. 154, n. 2.

The Art Museum, Princeton University
Museum purchase, with the John Maclean Magie and Gertrude Magie Fund

The painting was originally signed and dated on the stone at lower center. The signature, however, was irreparably scratched out, apparently with the intention of passing the canvas off as a work by Poussin. Only the traditional *Fecit* and the first two numbers of the date, *16*, are still legible, possibly followed by a *5*.

We have no doubt, however, as we stated in 1972-1973, that the Princeton canvas is in fact by Stella. Moreover, a work with this subject is cited in Félibien’s list of Stella’s major works just before the *Judgment of Paris*, which is probably the canvas that is today at Hartford (No. 102). Indeed, the canvas bears all the characteristic traits of Stella’s mature works: figures with large eyes, open mouths, and noses that extend in a straight line from low foreheads;



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vibrant, occasionally strident colors; and complex compositions constructed on several levels.

Was the work painted before or after the *Judgment of Paris* of 1650? The chronology of Stella's work still needs clarification and is difficult to establish because its development was not, apparently, a linear one. Paintings such as the *Infant Jesus Found in the Temple by His Parents* (1645; formerly Jacques Seligman collection, New York), recently acquired by the Lyons Museum; the *Baptism of Christ*, in the Church of Saint-Louis-en-l'Île, Paris (1645); the *Apparition of the Virgin to Saint Elizabeth of Hungary*, in the Church of Saint-Symphorien-de-Montreuil, Versailles (1644); the *Holy Family with Saint John* (1651; *Revue du Louvre*, 1979, p. 402, fig. 2), which was recently acquired by the Dijon Museum; the *Holy Family with Grapes* (1652), in the Prado; or the *Infant Jesus Found in the Temple*, in the Church of Saint-Ayoud de Provins (1654?), indicate that Stella's stylistic journey was by no means as clear as might at first appear.

It is evident that in painting the *Rape of the Sabine Women*, Stella had in mind Poussin's composition of the same subject. Poussin, however, painted the theme twice, in 1634-1635 and again two or three years later. In our opinion, the earlier painting is the one now in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 102), and the later work, painted for Cardinal Omodei, is the one in the Louvre (Arikha cat. of dossier "L'Enlèvement des Sabines de Poussin," *Le petit journal des grandes expositions*, 1979, no. 76). Since the Louvre canvas was still in Rome in 1655, Stella could have seen only the canvas now in New York. (It should, however, be noted that one of the two canvases was copied by Antoine Bouzonnet, Jacques Stella's nephew [Guiffrey, 1877, p. 36, no. 100]). The painting's original history is far from perfectly established, but the idea that it may have belonged to Cardinal Richelieu, Stella's patron, is somewhat substantiated by the existence of the Princeton canvas.

Stella undoubtedly wished to compete with his friend; he borrows, albeit in considerably modified form, the two groups of soldiers who seize the Sabines by their waists and

the group with the old Sabine about to be slain. Stella's composition is laid out on several distinct levels and is in form less friezelike than Poussin's; it is filled with many more figures and, above all, is less stark and controlled. Romulus is seen in the distance, at the extreme left, removing his cloak as a signal for the abduction to begin. Stella's originality is apparent particularly in the great banners that billow in the wind and in the Gothic rather than Palladian buildings — in short, in the neo-Gothic and troubadour setting in which the tumultuous scene takes place.

102.

The Judgment of Paris

Canvas, 75 × 99 cm

Signed and dated on the river god's oar, lower right: *Stella f. 1650*

Provenance: Collection of Louis-Henri de Loménie, comte de Brienne (1636-1698), 1662. Collection of painter Féréol de Bonnemaïson (Poussin's *Orion*, now in the Metropolitan Museum [No. 94], also belonged to Bonnemaïson.); his sale, Paris, 17-24 Apr. 1827, no. 98 (sold for 300 francs). Collection of Alexandre Dumont, Cambrai, 1860. Paris sale, Hôtel Drouot, 27-28 June 1957, no. 180 ("genre de Jacques Stella"); [Julius Weitzner, London]; Wadsworth Atheneum, 1957.

Bibliography: Félibien, 1696 ed. (II) p. 657; Mantz, 1860, pp. 311-312; Bonnaïffé, 1873, p. 25, no. 36, pp. 36-37; "Annual Report 1957," *Bulletin of the Wadsworth Atheneum*, Summer 1958, p. 21, pl. 1; *The Art Quarterly*, Spring 1958, p. 86, pl. p. 89; Thuillier, 1960 (II) p. 109 ("lost"); Rosenberg, 1964, pp. 297-299, ill.; Rosenberg, Toronto-Ottawa-San Francisco-New York (exh. cat.) 1972-1973, p. 213; Davidson, 1975, p. 154, n. 2.

Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford

The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection

Regarded by Félibien as one of Stella's most important works, the Hartford canvas belonged in 1662 to Loménie de Brienne, who kept it with the thirty-one most valued paintings of his collection. To this nucleus of paintings he dedicated several Latin verses, among which is the line "Judicium Paridis spretaeque injuria formae Stellam nostrum coelo inseruit."

The extravagant career of Brienne is well known. An intimate friend of the young Louis XIV, he was also Mazarin's personal secretary and a great collector of art. He was, however, a broken man by the age of twenty-seven and was committed by his family to a mental asylum, where he remained for eighteen years; he died in 1698, neglected and forgotten. In the nineteenth century the Hartford painting was part of the Dumont collection, Cambrai, a collection famous for Vermeer's *Geographer*, today at Frankfurt. The



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Judgment of Paris was acquired in 1957 by the Wadsworth Atheneum, probably not only for its artistic merits but also as a reminder that Poussin's tragic *Crucifixion*, which had belonged to the museum since 1935 (see Inventory), had at one time formed part of Jacques Stella's own collection (Guiffrey, 1877, p. 42).

The painting is among Stella's most original achievements: in front of Paris and Mercury, who holds the apple, Juno, Venus (crowned by her followers and accompanied by Cupid), and Pallas Athena are gathered, surrounded by the gods of Olympus. While the theme gave Stella an opportunity to paint beautiful nudes, he used it also as a pretext to create appealing pictorial images and ingenious visual effects and to introduce specific iconographic details. By means of the shining rainbow, illuminating the bodies of the gods and goddesses, the composition is bathed in a milky light that is both compelling and strange.

By 1650, Stella was a celebrated artist. Although he continued to make small devotional paintings on stone, which enabled him to live in Rome (an unpublished work, also dated 1650, offered by Alexandre Le Noir to the Empress Josephine, is part of a private collection, Paris; Grandjean, 1964, no. 1064), he did not content himself with set formulas. And while he did not altogether give up his polished and even handling, his taste for calm, rhythmical compositions and sculptural forms or abandon the deliberate, glazed coldness that today we find so arresting, he searched for new directions in his art through the wide resources of light. Responding both to the lyricism of Vouet and his followers and to the abstract intellectualism of Poussin, Stella's efforts foreshadow not only those of David but even more, particularly in this painting, those of Girodet in the *Dream of Ossian*.

STOSKOPFF Sébastien or Stoskopf

(1597 Strasbourg; Idstein 1657)

Trained in Strasbourg with Brentel and then in Hanau with Daniel Soreau (where he met Sandrart, painter and future art historian), Stoskopff took over his master's atelier on the latter's death in 1619. In 1621 he was probably in Paris. He met Sandrart in Venice in 1629 and the following year returned to Paris, where he remained until 1640. That same year, following a short stay in Frankfurt, he returned to Alsace, and in 1646 he married the daughter of his brother-in-law, the gold- and silversmith Nicolas Riedinger. In 1655, Stoskopff accompanied his patron Jean de Nassau Idstein to Idstein. Two years later he died, the victim of an assassin, according to some, from alcoholism and dissolution, according to others.

The career of the artist can be divided equally into two phases: the Paris period, during which he worked closely with artists from the area of the Pont Notre-Dame and Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and the Strasbourg period. His "French" paintings (the earliest one dates from 1625) indicate that he was fully aware of the latest artistic developments (in his still lifes, he introduced engravings after La Hyre, Vouet, Callot, and even Rembrandt). In his "German" paintings, he skillfully, and to great effect, depicted pieces of glass-, gold-, and silverware piled one on top of another. Today, restored to favor by Hans Haug (1948, 1952, 1961, 1965), the artist is justifiably popular. Although primarily a still-life artist, Stoskopff also painted the human figure (e.g., *Summer*, 1633, Strasbourg Museum) and dead game (e.g., *the Heron*, 1646, Rust collection, Washington, D.C.). French or German painter, French and German painter, but above all an artist from Alsace, Stoskopff, like van Boucle, rightly deserves a place in an exhibition devoted to French art of the seventeenth century.

103.

Still Life with Basket of Glasses

Canvas, 86.5 × 110 cm

Provenance: Private collection, Vienna; [Dr. Peter Nathan, Zurich, 1972]; [Alexandre Rosenberg, New York]; Norton Simon, 1972.

Exhibitions: San Francisco, 1974, no. 1, with pl.

Bibliography: Faré, 1974, pl. p. 129; Herrmann, 1980, colorpl. p. 66.

The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena

In the catalogue of the 1974 San Francisco exhibition, the



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painting is dated 1644, assigned therefore to the period after Stoskopff's return to Strasbourg. The date is entirely justified when the work is compared to the famous *Basket of Glasses* in the Strasbourg Museum, which bears the same date (Münster-Baden-Baden exh. cat., 1979-1980, colorpl. p. 227), and to the *Basket of Glasses and Copper Bowl* ([fragment] Karlsruhe Mus. cat., 1966 [I] p. 285 [II] ill. p. 143), which is perhaps slightly later, as well as to a painting in a private collection, Budapest (Budapest exh. cat., 1981, no. 105, ill.) under an attribution to Theodore Ross (?).

The Norton Simon canvas is an extraordinary exercise of virtuosity, in which Stoskopff displays his technical facility in the depiction of the transparency of glass and the reflection of light on gold, silver, and copper. The artist also wished to demonstrate his capacity to construct (one might almost use the term "stage") a complex composition that develops on several levels; in this he is less successful, and the objects, although carefully placed, appear to be very much isolated from each other.

The fine quality of the glasses and the gold and silver recalls the affluent bourgeois comfort in which Stoskopff lived after he returned to Alsace and probably also reflects the profession of his brother-in-law, the goldsmith Nicolas Riedinger, whose daughter Stoskopff married in 1646.

Should the Norton Simon canvas, which depicts in the foreground a glass whose stem is broken into three pieces, also be interpreted as an allusion to the fragility of existence? Certainly the artist was accustomed to this kind of symbolism, so frequently used by Protestant artists during the seventeenth century; we, however, do not think it necessary to find, at any cost, meaning in each object.

Rarely does Stoskopff show such ambition; admittedly, he abandons neither the dark background so dear to him nor the cold, abstract light that defines the objects, giving to each one its particular presence and quality. But despite the format, which for Stoskopff is unusually large, he is able to capture the mysterious atmosphere that gives to his smaller works their secret charm.

TASSEL Jean

(c. 1608 Langres; Langres 1667)

Born in Langres, Tassel was in Rome in 1634 at the same time as another specialist in bambocciate paintings, Sébastien Bourdon. By 1647, perhaps even earlier, Tassel was back in France, and, until his death, he did a great deal of work in the churches and for the art lovers of Dijon and Langres.

A prolific artist, Tassel frequently repeated himself. He was often inspired by his predecessors, and he copied both their engravings and their paintings (for instance, those by Jean Leclerc, whose student Tassel may have been). He tried his hand at all types of work — religious and mythological subjects, genre scenes, and portraits. His rough, rustic style, clumsy but full of resonance, is easily recognizable. He liked vivid colors, zigzag compositions, straight lines, and strong shadows that deform the body.

Henry Ronot has applied himself to restoring Jean Tassel to favor; admittedly provincial and probably a *petit maître*, Tassel is nevertheless an artist with a personal and engaging style.

104.

The Judgment of Solomon

Canvas, 80.5 × 64.5 cm

Provenance: Collection of A. Everett Austin, Jr. (1900-1957), acquired from the Austin estate by Sarasota, 1957.

Exhibitions: Hartford-Sarasota, 1958, no. 12a (ill.); Jacksonville-St. Petersburg, 1969-1970, no. 45.

Bibliography: Rosenberg, 1964, pp. 298, 299, n. 13, ill. p. 298; Thuillier and Châtelet, 1964, colorpl. p. 82; Ronot, 1965, p. 31, ill.; Rosenberg, 1966, p. 11, fig. 9, p. 10; Rosenberg and Laveissière, 1978, p. 133, nn. 12, 40.

John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota

The painting formed part of the personal collection of A. Everett Austin, Jr., one of the first defenders of the Baroque in the United States, who, despite a climate of semi-indifference to the style, was able to acquire for the museums of Hartford and Sarasota, of which he was then director, important French and Italian works that are today the glory of those museums. (On this extraordinary man, see Denys Sutton's editorial in *Apollo*, December 1966; see also the catalogue of the exhibition devoted to him at Hartford and Sarasota, 1958.)

Acquired by Sarasota in 1957, the work, which had formerly been attributed to Sébastien Bourdon, was reattributed by the author in 1964 to Jean Tassel. This attribution is now universally accepted. A rather poor but possibly



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autograph replica of the work, with no important variants, was put up for sale in Paris recently (Hôtel Drouot, 9 October 1979, no. 120, ill.).

The painting is not only one of Tassel's most characteristic works but also undoubtedly one of his best. Many details are striking: the sharp style, the zigzag composition, the almost ragged clothes of the protagonists, their angular figures and pointed faces, the brutality of the light that accentuates the deformation of the bodies, the quality of the colors, the orange of the "bad" mother's dress, the duck-egg blue of Solomon's cloak, and the gray of the soldier's helmets.

Of course, compared to paintings on the same subject by Valentin (Louvre) and Poussin (Louvre), painted in 1649, about the same time as the one by Tassel, the work seems rather clumsy, and the artist hardly responsive to the drama he is depicting. Nevertheless, he redeems himself by the naïve and rustic charm of the composition, by his engaging originality, and by certain bizarre, even macabre touches, such as the russet-colored dog with the pointed nose that sniffs the body of the dead child.

TOURNIER Nicolas

(1590 Montbéliard; Toulouse, before February 1639)

Thanks to Pierre Salès (1973-1974) and Jacques Bousquet (1980), we are now better informed about the rather secret life of Nicolas Tournier. The artist was born to a Protestant family and was in Rome in 1619. He is known to have been there still in 1626 and is mentioned as being in Carcassonne in 1627. In 1632 he settled in Toulouse, where, on 30 December, he drew up his will.

The work of Robert Mesuret (1957) and of Brejon de Lavergnée (1974) has also expanded our knowledge of the artist himself.

Tournier does not appear to have received any official commissions during his stay in Rome or to have enjoyed the protection of a well-known patron; it has therefore been through his documented works executed in the southwest of France after 1627 that a definition of his artistic personality has been attempted. The artist adopted the famous Manfrediana Methodus — defined by Sandrart in his Lives of Seghers and Manfredi — and like other members of this Caravaggesque group, he painted "soldiers playing cards, musicians playing different instruments, and other half-length figures of this type" (Sandrart). Moreover, although he seems to have been Manfredi's most faithful emulator, he brought to the style of his model a certain note of reserve, almost a detachment from the subjects he painted. Tournier's works can be distinguished from those of Valentin, the other artist he sometimes imitated, by a duller execution and by an atmosphere that is less feverish and less filled with anxiety.

105.

Banquet Scene with Lute Player

Canvas, 120.5 × 165.5 cm

Provenance: An inscription on the back of the canvas has been deciphered as follows: "Michel Angiolo da Caravaggio 1569-1619 de Walpersdort Appartenam A mon fils françois de colloredo" (Stockho, 1981). [Aram Gallery, New York]; The St. Louis Art Museum, 1942.

Exhibitions: New York, 1946, no. 48, ill.; Pittsburgh, 1951, no. 54, ill.; Seattle Art Museum, *Caravaggio and the Tenebrosi* (checklist) 1954, n. 22; New York, Wildenstein, 1958, no. 16, pl. 34; Sarasota, 1960, no. 10, ill.; Montreal-Quebec-Ottawa-Toronto, 1961-1962, no. 75, ill.; Cleveland, 1971-1972, no. 69, ill.

Bibliography: Mus. cat., 1953, p. 83, ill.; Longhi, 1958, p. 63; Nicolson, 1960, p. 226; *Connaissance des Arts*, Nov. 1971, no. 237, ill. (detail); Butler, *The Connoisseur*, Jan. 1972, pp. 56-57, ill.; Nicolson, 1972, p. 117; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 105, 106, 108, 110, 244 (Italian ed.) pp. 107, 108, 110, 112, 251 (French ed.); Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, 1974, p. 36; Brejon de Lavergnée, 1974, pp. 47, 51, 53, n. 20, p. 55, n. 50; Spear, 1975, pp. 178-179, ill.; Mus. cat., 1975, p. 103, ill.; Nicolson, 1979, p. 103; Cuzin, 1980, p. 24, n. 23; Stockho, 1981, ill. p. 5.

The St. Louis Art Museum

Originally attributed to Valentin, this painting was reattributed to Tournier by Charles Sterling in 1946 (New York exh. cat.) and is today one of the artist's most famous works. We know of two early copies (Nicolson, 1979).

Those who have studied the work agree that it was painted during the artist's stay in Rome (1619-1626/1627). All have remarked on the elements borrowed from Valentin, notably from the *Four Ages of Life*, at London; the *Concert with a Bas-Relief*, in the Louvre; and the *Musicians and Drinkers*, at



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Strasbourg. The traditional title of this work, the *Concert*, is somewhat surprising. Admittedly, at the right one sees a guitar player concentrating intently on tuning his lute. However, the heroine of the scene, evidently a courtesan, who sits squarely at the table with a chicken in front of her, the drinker to her right, the seated man to his right, and the servant who stands behind him clearly indicate that we are in the presence of one of the banquet scenes so typical of the Caravaggesque painters, or at least the followers of the Manfrediana Methodus. Certain protagonists in this scene are also found in other compositions by Tournier: the courtesan (Bourges; Madrid, private collection), the drinker, and above all the man at the extreme left, who boldly turns to face us. This figure, a constant image in Tournier's œuvre, is equivalent to the artist's signature, with his rigid attitude, incisive expression, noble features, carefully trimmed beard and mustache, straight nose, flat beret, and violet lips.

The St. Louis canvas, probably painted in 1625, shows both the merits and the limitations of Tournier's talent. The painting is composed with discipline and skill and painted with care but in a rather flat manner, and the artist maintains a somewhat haughty distance from the scene. The natural distinction of the artist, the "reserved and dignified French tone," which Creighton Gilbert remarked upon in 1960 (Sarasota exh. cat.), distinguishes Tournier from Manfredi and also from Valentin, two artists, it is true, of a very different caliber.

VALENTIN called Valentin de Boulogne

(1591 Coulommiers; Rome 1632)

Since the Rome-Paris exhibition Valentin and the French Caravaggesque Painters (1973-1974), the life and work of Valentin are more familiar to us. Born to a family of artists and artisans in Coulommiers-en-Brie, Valentin arrived, according to

Sandrart, in Rome before Vouet, and hence before 1614; he remained in that city the rest of his life. In 1620, Valentin lived with Douffet, and from 1624, he was affiliated with the Bentvueghels (the Bent), an association composed principally of Flemish and Dutch artists that rivaled the Accademia di San Luca. Valentin's first documented painting is from 1627 — only five years before his death — and from this date on, his activities are well documented. He worked for the papacy, for the Barberini, and for Cassiano dal Pozzo, Valguarnera.

The circumstances of his death, as reported by Baglione, are well known and have contributed to creating the image of a bohemian artist, a lover of good wine and good food. Valentin died at a time when buyers competed with each other to purchase his scenes of taverns and musical groups, which in no way seem to have gone out of fashion. The artist, for that matter, is unlikely ever to be completely forgotten, even if the deepest meaning of his work is no longer understood. Nevertheless, it was not until Hermann Voss and Roberto Longhi published their research that Valentin's style was clearly defined. The Rome-Paris exhibition attempted not only to catalogue the artist's works but also to propose a chronological reconstruction. Since then, the number of publications on Valentin has increased, as has the number of works now known to be by him. We eagerly await the forthcoming publication of the monograph on the artist by Jean-Pierre Cuzin.

106.**

The Fortune Teller

Canvas, 142.5 × 238.5 cm

Provenance: Collection of the dukes of Rutland, Belvoir Castle, before 1788, probably from 1750 (the collection was formed by the third [1696-1779] and fourth [1754-1787] dukes; Poussin's *Sacraments* were acquired between 1784 and 1786); Rutland sale, Christie's, London, 16 Apr. 1926, no. 7 (as by Caravaggio); acquired by Blaker and sold by him to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in 1929, for 325 pounds; sold by the museum at Sotheby's, London, 1 July 1953, no. 157; acquired by Hoffmann for 350 pounds; private collection, England, 1953-1981; [Colnaghi]; acquired by the Toledo Museum of Art, 1981.

Bibliography: Nichols, 1795 (II) p. 71; Eller, 1841, p. 256; Waagen, 1854 (III) p. 400; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, p. 160, fig. 18, p. 244 (Italian ed.) p. 166, fig. 18, p. 252 (French ed.); Cuzin, 1975, p. 58; Cuzin, *La diseuse de bonne aventure* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1977, pp. 30-31; Nicolson, 1979, p. 106.

The Toledo Museum of Art
Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey

The painting, recently acquired by the Toledo Museum, was at one time famous, a fact confirmed by the existence of three early copies (Musée Calvet, Avignon; Filangieri



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Museum, Naples, destroyed during the last war [Longhi, 1958, p. 62]; Smith College, Northampton [Amherst exh. cat., 1974, no. 89, ill.]. The painting today, however, is virtually unknown, never having been exhibited or correctly reproduced. And yet, in 1854, at a time when one might have thought that Valentin was completely forgotten, Waagen, in his description of the collections of the dukes of Rutland at Belvoir Castle, had already identified its author: "Michael Angelo da Caravaggio — A gypsy woman telling fortunes. In my opinion, a rich and fine picture by Valentin."

The theme of the *Fortune Teller* was one that particularly attracted Valentin. Jean-Pierre Cuzin (1975, 1977) cites four different compositions by the artist: besides the one now in the Toledo Museum, there is one at Copenhagen, one in the Louvre, and one at Pommersfelden (the last is on deposit in the Toronto Museum). Cuzin considers the Toledo version the earliest of the four, datable to "about 1620."

The scene depicts a young military man surrounded by soldiers, having his fortune told by a gypsy, while at the same time she is robbed of a cock that she has been concealing. The thief, in turn, is robbed of his booty "by a precocious young gypsy girl." The thief, who hides behind his coat, and one of the drinkers, who is apparently indifferent to the goings-on, look out at the viewer, indicating the moral of the scene: He who betrays is in turn betrayed; let us not attempt to look into the future, but let us be satisfied with the good fortune of the present — such as wine.

Although the origin of the theme is found in Caravaggio's well-known painting in the Louvre, Valentin introduces into his interpretation a personal note. Each of the four variants, as Cuzin has pointed out, bears witness to the development of the artist's style. This canvas is already suffused with the gravity so characteristic of his work. Although the handsome, nervous, and tormented face of the young soldier who impatiently awaits the gypsy's verdict already evokes many of the artist's innovations, there is no suggestion of the sad melancholy that gives the Louvre version its romantic and desolate poetry. The Toledo painting — a genre scene

treated in the picturesque mode — displays Valentin's sensitivity as a colorist: the red of the brick, the dirty whites, the reflections of the metals and wine glasses blend together in harmony. Each of the carefully studied faces has its own character, although Valentin has perhaps not yet been able to give the painting that unity of feeling so typical of his later works. But already this canvas (with the gestures painted as if frozen — so close to and yet so far from the *La Tour* canvas of the same subject [No. 39]) is imbued with the classicism and reserve so characteristic of seventeenth-century French painting but astonishing to find in the work of the greatest and most authentic Caravaggesque painter of France.

107.

Allegory of Virtuous Love (Amor di Virtù)

Canvas, 123 × 73.5 cm

Provenance: Private collection, France, between 1930 and 1960. Bought [by Frederick Mont] in Switzerland in 1972 or 1973; owned [with Newhouse, New York], by 1974, and sold Christie's, New York, 11 Jan. 1979, no. 202, ill. ("Circle of Salomon de Bray. An allegorical figure of the Fame of Poetry").

Bibliography: Montias, in press [1982]; Rosenberg, in press [1982].

Anonymous Loan

Everything in this painting confirms our attribution to Valentin, proposed verbally in 1979: the fine gray tonality in harmony with the gold and olive green tunic and laurel wreath worn by the angel; the delicate and rapid execution; the luminous accents on the forehead, the nose, and chin of the young model, with his virile features and short, thick hands; and above all the poignant melancholy, the pensive sadness of his face. An early copy that was recently discovered by John Michael Montias in an Italian collection shows not only that Valentin's composition was famous but also that the version exhibited here was cut on the sides and lower edge. The copy is of interest for another reason as well: at the left, beneath the garland of laurel, is an open book with an inscription in capital letters *VTCO//PRE//HEN//DAM* on which a crown is placed. It is possible that the same motif originally existed in the present canvas.

Even the date of the work can be specified with relative accuracy. It is certainly not a late work, insofar as one can speak of late works for an artist who died at forty-one. The clearly defined forms and firm modeling are reminiscent of the works painted before 1627, the date of the *David* (No. 109) and of the famous *Allegory of Rome*, at the Finnish



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Institute, Rome. We would like to suggest, with caution, that the work was painted in the early 1620s.

The subject of the work appears to have been correctly identified by John Michael Montias (in press) as an allegory of virtuous love (*Amor di virtù*). And, in fact, according to Ripa, Virtuous Love is symbolized by a youth clothed in drapery, crowned, and holding a wreath of laurel. Again, according to Ripa, the youth holds two crowns in the right hand and one in the left, symbols of Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance (Maser ed., 1971, p. 80).

Montias (idem), on the other hand, has discovered a most interesting document in the municipal archives at Delft: a deposition made in 1672 in which the painter Leonaert Bramer (1596-1674) states that he had seen in Rome "about forty years ago" (in fact, he had left Rome in 1628) "Giovanni del Campo [Ducamps], called at the Bent the Golden Ass," paint a picture of a "standing angel, seen to the hips, with two wings and a sheep's skin around his body and a small laurel crown in his hand." Montias suggests that this painting may be the work today in the Riga Museum (Vsevolozhskaya and Linnik, 1975, colorpl. p. 81). Admittedly, the Russian painting is only 93.5 cm high by 71 cm wide, while the one cited by Bramer is of a size described as *tela d'Imperatore* (about 97 × 130 cm), but the canvas has probably been cut down on both sides.

In what way does this document support the attribution to Valentin of the *Allegory of Virtuous Love*? First, we must remember that from 1624 Valentin too was a member of the Bent, the guild of painters, mainly Flemish and Dutch, that competed with the Accademia di San Luca, which in 1624 had just chosen Vouet as president (*principe*). At the Bent, Valentin was called the *Inamorato* ("lover"), while Ducamps was called not the Golden Ass, but, according to Hoogewerff (1952, p. 134), de Braef ("the courageous man"). Almost

certainly Ducamps and Valentin knew each other and met with one another there (Bousquet, 1978, p. 107). It could therefore be argued that Ducamps, in painting a "standing angel," had been inspired by Valentin, an artist whose success, which was already fairly extensive, would be consecrated in 1629 by the commission of the *Martyrdom of Saints Processus and Martinian* for Saint Peter's, Rome.

108.

Saint John the Evangelist

Canvas, 97.5 × 134 cm

Provenance: Colonna collection (the wax seal of the collection of a cardinal of this family can still be seen on the stretcher of the painting; see Cleveland exh. cat.). Collection of Paul Vogel-Brunner, Lucerne, Switzerland; [Frederick Mont, New York]; The Ackland Art Museum, 1963.

Exhibition: Chapel Hill, 1969, no. 30; Cleveland, 1971-1972, no. 70, ill.

Bibliography: *The Art Quarterly*, Spring 1963, p. 83, pl. p. 88; Sloane, 1968-1969, pl. p. 182; Mus. cat., 1971, no. 58, ill.; Borea, 1972, pp. 159, 162; Pepper, 1972, p. 171; Volpe, 1972, p. 75, pl. 23; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 136, 244 (Italian ed.) pp. 138, 252 (French ed.); Brejon de Lavergnée, 1974, pp. 51, 55, n. 55; Cuzin, 1975, p. 59; Spear, 1975, pp. 180-181, ill.; Longhi, 1979 (II) pl. 144; Nicolson, 1979, p. 105.

The Ackland Art Museum, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina

It was Hermann Voss who attributed this work to Valentin, an attribution that cannot be doubted (certificate dated 1960; see Chapel Hill cat., 1971). Richard Spear (Cleveland exh. cat., 1971-1972) pointed out the existence of a wax seal that bears the Colonna family coat of arms, which appears on the stretcher of the painting. Further research into the Colonna archives should eventually allow us not only to specify the conditions of the commission and its entry into this illustrious collection but also to confirm the hypothesis that the *Saint John* was intended as part of a series of the Four Evangelists. Today we know of other paintings that could have formed part of this series (e.g., *Saint Paul*, same dimensions, private collection, England; *The Burlington Magazine*, March 1969, p. 168, fig. 78), and above all we must remember that during the reign of Louis XIV (and again today) a series of the Four Evangelists decorated the *Chambre du Roi* at Versailles.

The comparison between the Versailles *Saint John* and the one at Chapel Hill, already proposed by Spear, is of the utmost interest: the composition of the two works is very



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similar without being identical, but the spirit of the two versions differs considerably. The Chapel Hill canvas depicts a handsome youth with a serious and ardent expression, no doubt a barely disguised portrait of a young Roman. The Versailles canvas, with its more dynamic composition, has as its theme divine inspiration; the tormented and concentrated expression of the young man suggests a conception that is more grandiose, more classical, and more introspective.

This would seem to indicate that the Chapel Hill painting is substantially earlier than the one at Versailles and must have been painted about 1622-1623, slightly earlier than 1625, the date proposed in 1975 by Jean-Pierre Cuzin.

109.

David with the Head of Goliath

Canvas, 139 × 103 cm

Provenance: Bought in 1627 for 15 scudi by Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), Rome, nephew of Pope Urban VIII. Inventoried in 1633, with a *Samson* (No. 110), in the collection of Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1607-1671), Francesco's brother; once again in Francesco's collection in 1649 (see M. A. Lavin); inventoried in 1738 under the name of Andrea Camassei (Arch. Barb. Ind. II, cred. VI, cas. 70, Maz. LXXXIX, Lett. I, no. 32; information communicated by Ann Tzeuschler Lurie); the painting remained in the Barberini family after the division of the collection, which took place between 1812 and 1816; it is cited several times during the 19th century. Sale of the collection of Luisa Schwartz (née Corrodi), Antonina Gallery, Rome, 16-23 Jan. 1935, no. 475; the painting was in Spain (it seems to have been in the Yugoslav embassy in Madrid) and in 1939 in the United States, where it became part of the collection of Yovan Duchich, a Yugoslav diplomat (d. 1941); collection of Mitchell Duchich (cousin of Yovan), Gary, Indiana, until 1952; given by Mitchell to the Reverend Father Vladimir Mrvchin, San Gabriel, California, where it remained until 1979;

acquired [from the Collector's Gallery, Tustin, California] by Michael and Jo Ellen Brunner, 1979. On the provenance of this painting, see also No. 110.

Bibliography: Ramdohr, 1787 (II) p. 285 ("Caravaggio"); Voss, 1924, p. 455; Isarlo, 1941 (II) p. 247; Zeri, 1954, p. 7, no. 87, ill.; Longhi, 1958, p. 61; Thuillier, 1958, p. 28, ill.; Bern (exh. cat.) 1959, under no. 7; Vivian, 1969, p. 722, nn. 38, 39; Spear, Cleveland (exh. cat.) 1971-1972, p. 184, fig. 44; Spear (1) 1972, p. 32; Spear (2) 1972, p. 151, n. 21; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 123, 168, 246 (Italian ed.) pp. 125, 174, 252 (French ed.); M. A. Lavin, 1975, p. 42, doc. 342, p. 43, doc. 346, p. 242, no. 676 (III. inv. 49), pp. 529-530, 575; Cuzin, 1975, p. 59; Spear, 1975, p. 184, fig. 44, p. 205, n. 21, p. 229, n. 71; Del Bravo, 1979, pp. 46, 56, n. 90, pl. IV; Nicolson, 1979, p. 104; Rosenberg, in press [1982].

Collection of Michael and Jo Ellen Brunner, Fountain Valley, California

The present exhibition allows us to reunite for the first time since 1816 two of the rare, perfectly documented works by Valentin. It is known that the Barberini collection in Rome at one time included a *David with the Head of Goliath*. A photograph of the painting was reproduced for the first time in 1954 by Federico Zeri, but the work itself was lost. Recently discovered in California in a most pitiable state, it has undergone an exemplary restoration by Gabrielle Kopelman. That Valentin had painted a pendant to his *David*, a *Samson* (No. 110), was less certain. In fact, an archival document of 1631, known since 1920 (Orbaan) and frequently cited (Haskell), attributes the work to Poussin, and it was not until the painting itself was rediscovered by Richard Spear that the *Samson*, today at Cleveland, could be unquestionably accepted as also by Valentin.

The publication of the documents from the Barberini archives by Frances Vivian (1969) and subsequently, in a more exhaustive manner, by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin (1975) has allowed us to be more precise about the circumstances of the commission of the two works and to better understand their eventful history. At one time considerably extended at the bottom of the canvas, both works were later returned to their original dimensions. As for the *David*, until recently it had, at the lower left, the characteristic nineteenth-century Barberini inventory number, in this case, the number 90 (see the number 25 on Vouet's *Saint Jerome and the Angel*, No. 117).

The archival documents mentioned above indicate the date that Cardinal Francesco Barberini bought the *David*: 1627. This is the same date that Valentin received the commission from the Barberini for the *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (location unknown) and for the grand *Allegory of Rome*, today at the Finnish Institute, Rome. It is also the date of Poussin's *Death of Germanicus* (No. 85), painted for the same Barberini family. Can we therefore assume that 1627 is the date of the painting's execution, as has always been claimed? Carlo Del Bravo (1979) is quite right to question this point, which



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remains difficult to answer as long as the restoration of the canvas remains incomplete. Be that as it may, the Barberini *David* must nevertheless be dated somewhat later than the bust of *King David* in the Hornstein collection, Montreal (recently given to the museum), and later also than the *David with the Head of Goliath* in the Thyssen collection, Lugano.

The strong naturalistic character of the work should be pointed out. Goliath's head, which David holds by the hair, the hero's inspired and feverish face, and the serious and heavy atmosphere that dominates the scene are very different from the elegant and rather superficial spirit of the *Samson* (No. 110) executed several years later, also for the Barberini. With the gesture of his left hand and by his gaze, intensely fixed on the viewer, the protagonist reminds us that, above and beyond the episode of the combat, he has pledged irretrievably not only his own destiny but also that of his people.

110. ***

Samson

Canvas, 135.5 × 103 cm

Provenance: Commissioned Dec. 1630 by Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679), Rome, who paid 25 scudi for it in July 1631; inventoried in 1633 in the collection of Cardinal Antonio Barberini (1607-1671), Francesco's brother; again, apparently, in Francesco's collection in 1649 (see M. A. Lavin, 1975). In 1631 it was mistakenly inventoried under the name of Poussin, and in 1738 under that of Andrea Camassei (Arch. Barb. Ind. II, cred. VI, cas. 70, Maz. LXXXIX, Lett. I, no. 32; information communicated by Ann Tzeuschler Lurie); the division of the Barberini collection between



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the Barberini and the Sciarra took place between 1812 and 1816, and the painting went to the collection of Colonna di Sciarra, Rome. Sale, Sangiorgi Gallery, Rome, 28 Mar. 1899, 5th sale, no. 363, attributed to Angelo Caroselli, an attribution the work had borne since 1812. Collection of Ing. Dr. Edoardo Almagià, Rome, until 1972; The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1972. On the provenance of this painting, see also No. 109.

Exhibitions: Cleveland, 1971-1972, no. 72, color ill.; Cleveland, 1973, no. 128, pl. p. 74, p. 109 (the *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, Mar. 1972, is the catalogue of this exhibition).

Bibliography: Ramdohr, 1787 (II) p. 285 ("Calabrese"; that is, Mattia Preti); Vasi, 1838-1839 (I) p. 34 ("Caroselli"); Nibby, 1842 (I) p. 34; Pistolesi, 1844, p. 94 ("Caroselli"); Mariotti, 1892, p. 135, no. 46 ("Caroselli"); Orbaan, 1920, p. 511; Haskell, 1963, p. 45 (1980 ed., p. 45); Blunt, 1966, p. 158, no. L.4; Vivian, 1969, pp. 721-722; Mus. cat., Minneapolis, 1971, p. 163; Borea, 1972, p. 162; Held, 1972, p. 44; Nicolson, 1972, pp. 113-114; Pepper, 1972, pp. 171, 175, fig. 8; Spear (1) 1972, pp. 32-33, cat. no. 14, ill.; Spear (2) 1972, pp. 151, 159, n. 70; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 1-2, 1973, p. 115; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1973, p. 123, fig. 434; Enggass, 1973, p. 462; Rosenberg, *Germanicus* (exh. cat.) Paris, 1973, p. 63, nn. 17, 24; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 88, 123, 126, 168, 244 (Italian ed.) pp. 90, 125, 128, 174, 252 (French ed.); Thuillier, 1974, p. 119, R.21 (French ed.); M. A. Lavin, 1975, p. 43, docs. 345, 346, p. 98, no. 482 (III. inv. 26-31), p. 114, no. 482 (III. Barb. Lat. 5635), p. 242, no. 676 (III. inv. 49), pp. 530, 695; Cuzin, 1975, p. 59; Spear, 1975, pp. 184-185, ill., p. 205, n. 21, p. 229, n. 71; Nicolson, 1979, p. 104.

The Cleveland Museum of Art
Purchase, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund

The painting is the pendant to the *David* (No. 109), and its history is related under that work's entry in the catalogue. Commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini in December 1630, it was paid for in July 1631. Thirteen months later, Valentin was dead. That this work was in fact a Barberini commission is confirmed by a small but not

unimportant detail: the clip that fastens the armor on the hero's naked shoulder is in the form of the famous Barberini bee.

Separated since 1812, the *Samson* and the Barberini *David* are here reunited once again, providing us with a unique occasion to compare the two paintings, executed within a few years of each other (three to be exact, if one accepts that the *David* was painted in 1627, the date at which it became part of the Barberini collection). Valentin's style seems to have mellowed; his hero no longer has the ardent and feverish character of the *David*. A melancholy quality marks his face. The famous ass's jawbone with which the hero overwhelmed the Philistines is reduced to a secondary role. Samson's posture is gracious, almost elegant. The harmonious coloring of the orange cloak and the blue armor indicates Valentin's wish to use bright colors, something to which we are unaccustomed in his work. The execution is lighter, more delicate, and more nuanced than in the *David*. The great and awesome lesson of Caravaggism appears to have been somewhat forgotten in favor of an art that is more highly cultivated and studied, although no less sensitive and seductive.

VERDIER François

(1652 Paris; Paris 1730)

A student at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (he won prizes for drawing in 1668 and 1671), Verdier was accepted (agréé) by that institution in 1676. The following year he painted a May for Notre-Dame (the work is now in the Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés), and in 1678 he was elected (reçu) to the Académie. On the recommendation of Le Brun, Verdier was sent in 1679 to Rome to complete his training. In 1684 he was named professor at the Académie, and in 1685 he married Antoinette Buttay, Le Brun's niece through marriage. Verdier received important commissions for the Trianon (1688-1698) and did a great deal of work for the Gobelins. Although Le Brun's death in 1690 did not interrupt Verdier's career, he is not mentioned in the accounts of the Bâtiments du Roi after 1699, and his paintings were removed from the Trianon. For several years he devoted himself to engraving and drawing; but life became increasingly difficult for him, and he died in poverty. Although few museums are without drawings by Verdier, his paintings are scarce (Kaposy, 1980; note also an important unpublished painting, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, private collection, New York, put up for sale at Sotheby's, New York, 5 March 1975, no. 176, ill.).

Although Verdier's style is closely related to that of Le Brun, the simplified gestures and strained facial expressions of his figures and



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the unusual, discordant colors give his works a strange and arresting character.

Alix Saulnier has recently (1980) submitted a thesis on the artist, rich in new biographical information and pertinent attributions.

111.

Christ Carrying the Cross

Canvas, 91.5 × 148.5 cm

Provenance: Formerly collection of Bernard Coyne, Salem, Mass.; Mr. and Mrs. William J. Julien, 1970.

Exhibitions: Paris, Salon of 1704, p. 15 (?).

Mr. and Mrs. William J. Julien, Nahant, Massachusetts

At the Salon of 1704, the only one in which he participated, Verdier exhibited two paintings, the *Miracle of the Loaves* and *Christ Carrying His Cross to the Gate of Jerusalem*. Although the first work is lost, it is tempting to identify the second with the hitherto unpublished painting shown here, even though the episode depicted in the latter is that of Christ beaten by his tormentors and faltering under the weight of the cross, whereas the canvas described in the handbook of the 1704 Salon depicts an earlier episode in the Passion. In any case, although the painting may in fact be the one from the 1704 Salon, there is nothing to indicate that Verdier painted it that year. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that he executed it a few years earlier, at a time nearer to Le Brun's painting of the same subject (now in the Louvre), a work painted for Louis XIV in 1688 (Le Brun exh. cat., Versailles, 1963, no. 47, ill.).

Verdier takes up Le Brun's composition but reverses, simplifies, and above all, schematizes it. Although he retains the same setting, the walls of Jerusalem, the same frieze composition, the same grouping of the characters, the

executioners, Saint John and the mother of Christ, accompanied — a modest innovation — by Saint Veronica, he gives to the protagonists gestures and expressions of great simplicity. The strength and originality of the work derive from the directness and concision with which the artist renders both gesture and expression, as well as from the clarity of the composition (similar to that of a pantomime or silent movie).

VIGNON Claude

(1593 Tours; Paris 1670)

Among French artists of the first half of the seventeenth century, Vignon is the one whose style is most easily recognized. Paradoxically, he was also receptive to a variety of influences ranging from the Paris Mannerists (Bunel, Lallemand) to the Caravaggesque painters (Caravaggio, Manfredi, Ter Brugghen), and from Rembrandt's masters (whom he knew personally) to, among others, Borgianni, Serodine, Feti, Guercino, and Vouet.

The life of this great traveler reads like a novel. After studying in Paris, Vignon was in Rome from, at the latest, 1617 (Martyrdom of Saint Matthew, Arras, 1617); certainly he was there in 1619 (Adoration of the Magi, Dayton; see Inventory). Between 1621 and 1623, his Marriage at Cana (formerly Berlin, destroyed 1945) won a competition organized by Prince Ludovisi. Vignon also seems to have undertaken two adventurous journeys to Spain. He signed a contract of marriage 21 January 1623 in Paris with Charlotte de Leu (with whom and his second wife he had thirty-four children; Jal, it is true, counted only twenty-four!). From this date onward, the number of secular and religious canvases, historical and genre scenes, and allegorical, mythological, and portrait paintings increased markedly. The abundant production of Vignon (and his atelier) is confirmed by the discovery every year of several new paintings. By 1651, when he entered the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, his patrons Richelieu and Louis XIII were dead. Vignon's style of painting, with thick impasto and glints of gold on dark backgrounds, must have seemed quite out-of-date.

If Vignon produced too many works and if often they are too facile, there is, however, no doubt that during his stay in Rome and the first years of his return to Paris he painted many beautiful canvases that bear witness to his imagination, his warmth tinged with a delightful humor, and his ardor.

Following the studies of, among others, Charles Sterling and Wolfgang Fischer, Paola Pacht Bassani is currently doing research on the artist.



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112.

Saint Ambrose

Canvas, 187.5 × 127.5 cm

Signed (incised) with a very fine pointed instrument on the spine of the large book at left: *Vignon In f 1623*.

Provenance: Collection of Lord Hatherton (1791-1863; for this collector, see Waagen, 1854 [II] p. 251; the first lord, né Edward John Walhouse of Hatherton [Staffordshire], changed his name to Littleton in 1812, when he inherited the possessions of Sir Edward Littleton, Pillaton Hall [Staffordshire]. Also in 1812, he married the illegitimate daughter of the first marquis of Wellesley and Hyacinthe Gabrielle Roland, daughter of Pierre Roland. He seems to have obtained his paintings, many of which are French, from his wife, but certain works may have come from the Littleton collection). Sotheby's, London, 6 Dec. 1967, no. 130 (attributed to Feti); [Julius Weitzner, London, 1968]; The Minneapolis Institute of Art, 1968.

Bibliography: Rosenberg, 1968, pp. 7-16, ill. p. 8 (signature p. 9); Mus. cat., 1971, p. 164, no. 86, ill.; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 192, 246 (Italian ed.) pp. 198, 254 (French ed.); Pacht Bassani, 1976, pp. 275, 283, fig. 28; Cuzin, 1979, p. 28, n. 39.

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts
The William Hood Dunwoody Fund

On the spine of the book at the left, the painting bears an important date: 1623. On 21 January of that year, Vignon married Charlotte de Leu. He had therefore returned to Paris, but since he is mentioned in the *Stati d'anime* of Rome for 1623 (Bousquet, 1980), it would appear that he had quickly returned to Italy. Among the paintings dated 1623, *Tobias and the Angel*, in Balleroy Castle, was most probably

painted in France, whereas *Christ Among the Doctors* and *Saint Ambrose* were most probably painted in Italy. The note of elegance and dreamlike detachment of the first painting is completely different from the robust and powerful spirit of the other two.

During his career, Vignon painted many works that depict the Evangelists, the church fathers, and the apostles. Two versions of the *Saint Ambrose* are mentioned in the inventory drawn up after Vignon's death (G. Wildenstein, 1957, p. 192), and he may also have painted the *Saint Ambrose* in the Church of San Pedro Mártir, Toledo (Seville exh. cat., 1973, no. 55, ill.). The painting at Minneapolis depicts the bishop of Milan holding the Gospel in one hand and leaning forcibly on the table with the other — one of the heavy, glowing hands so characteristic of Vignon. Several large volumes rest on the table, and in front of the saint are an inkwell and a scourge. Cramped in his large chasuble and wearing a tall mitre, the bishop gazes into the distance. If the religious feeling of the painting, which is quite superficial, scarcely interested Vignon, he succeeded nonetheless in giving his composition an amplitude, a monumentality, a vitality, and a seriousness not often found in his work.

113.

Portrait of François Langlois (The Bagpipe Player)

Canvas, 80 × 63 cm

Provenance: Collection of Don Marcello Massarenti, Accoramboni Palace, Rome (for this collector, a large part of whose collection was acquired in 1902 by Henry Walters for the Baltimore Museum, see Federico Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*, 1976 [I] Introduction, pp. XI-XV. One can distinguish Vignon's painting in a photograph, at Baltimore, showing the interior of the palace). Sale Rosalie H. Stone and others, Parke-Bernet, New York, 1 Apr. 1942, no. 72, ill.

Bibliography: Massarenti coll. cat. (by Edouard van Esbroeck) Rome, 1897, no. 462; Garlick, 1976, p. 87, under no. 673; Cuzin, 1979, p. 29, n. 39; Nicolson, 1979, p. 107; Pacht Bassani, 1979, p. 86.

Wellesley College Museum
Anonymous Loan

A few years ago, when we saw this painting hanging in the Wellesley College Museum, we recognized it as the original *Portrait of Langlois* by Vignon that had been missing for many years. The painting had been sold in New York in 1942 under an attribution to Judith Molenae Leyster. In fact, at the end of the nineteenth century the work had formed part



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of the Massarenti collection, Rome (see Provenance), and had been catalogued in 1897 as "school of Salvatore Rosa."

That the work is by Vignon is confirmed by Charles David's (before 1600; about 1636-1638) famous engraving (Weigert, 1954 [III] p. 340, no. 112; Fischer, 1962, p. 112, fig. 5). A fine early copy of the work in the earl of Spencer's collection, Althorp House, is frequently cited and often considered the original (Fischer, 1962, p. 113, fig. 6; Garlick, 1976, p. 87, no. 673). This copy, published by Hermann Voss (1910, p. 5) as a work by the Florentine artist Sigismondo Coccapani, was attributed to Vignon by Roberto Longhi in 1943 (p. 56).

Apart from its artistic quality, to which we will return, the work is of great iconographic interest and enables us to improve our understanding of the evolution of Vignon's style between the years 1620 and 1625. Early sources confirm that the model shows the features of François Langlois (1588-1647), Vignon's "carissimo et vero amico." Called "Ciartres" because he was born at Chartres, Langlois was an important art dealer, bookseller, and publisher of illustrated books and fine engravings. He established a business on the rue Saint-Jacques, the Two Columns of Hercules (later, the Columns of Hercules), and he was the father of the Langlois and Mariette dynasty (Weigert [VI] 1973, pp. 286-291). His friendship with Vignon was constant and of long standing, and business connections between the two (both were art dealers) were close. Langlois was, moreover, an eminent figure; his portrait was drawn (Frits Lugt collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris) and painted (Viscount Cowdray collection, Midhurst, Sussex) by Van Dyck. About 1632-1634, perhaps even later (Fischer, 1962, p. 114, fig. 7; Institut Néerlandais exh. cat., 1972, no. 31), Van Dyck repeated the composition of Vignon's canvas and depicted a model in the same attitude playing a musette, an instrument similar to and

no less difficult to play than the bagpipes painted by Vignon in his portrait of Langlois.

Langlois was in Italy in 1613-1614 (Bousquet, 1980, p. 204) and then in Florence and Rome in 1621; like Vignon, he also went to Spain. In 1624 he returned to Paris, where he wrote out an acknowledgment of debts owed to Vignon (Fleury, 1969, p. 699), who in the same year was chosen to be the godfather of one of the children of Charles David, the engraver of the painting. Did Vignon, therefore, execute the painting in Italy, in 1621, as is believed by those who have studied the copy at Althorp House (Fischer, Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Pacht Bassani, Nicolson), or was it painted after Langlois's return from Rome in 1623? One might well hesitate in drawing a conclusion, particularly since a *Portrait of Langlois* is mentioned in the inventory drawn up after Vignon's death (Wildenstein, 1957, p. 192). Indeed, there is a stylistic and technical relationship between this portrait and the *Tobias* at Balleroy Castle, painted in 1623. However, the Italian provenance of the painting, the Italian instrument held by Langlois, and above all the execution in large flowing strokes, the panache of the composition, and the still somewhat Caravaggesque melancholy of Langlois's expression lead us to opt for the first hypothesis.

Vignon often disguised his models. He liked to paint portraits of young people wearing large feathered berets — costume portraits, in fact. In many ways, Vignon's figures of fantasy, in technique and in spirit, foreshadow those of Fragonard.

114.

Esther Before Ahasuerus

Canvas, 110.5 × 170.5 cm

Provenance: In England in 1958; that same year it went to New York [Wildenstein]; acquired [from Wildenstein, New York] by Bob Jones University, 1964.

Exhibitions: Houston (1) 1961, ill., unpaginated; New York, Wildenstein, 1962, no. 10, pl. p. 37; Cornell University, 1964, no. 32, pl. p. 10; Bordeaux, 1964, no. 66, pl. XXIV; Jacksonville-St. Petersburg, 1969-1970, no. 47.

Bibliography: Isarlo, 1960, pl. 26; Fischer, 1962, p. 140, fig. 21, 1963, p. 179, no. 49; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 3, 1964, p. 373, pl. p. 382; *Art Journal*, Winter 1965-1966, p. 161, fig. 22; Mus. cat., 1968, no. 289, colorpl. XIII; Rosenberg, 1968, p. 7.

Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina

Although larger, the painting is very similar both in composition and style to the *Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*,



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in the Louvre (Inv. R.F. 3737; there is a replica, in the same format as the Bob Jones painting, formerly in the Henry Luge collection, Marseilles, and today in a private collection, Paris). Because the work in the Louvre is dated 1624, the year in which Vignon settled permanently in Paris (which in no way implies that the artist no longer traveled after this date, since we know that he returned to Spain once and to Italy several times), we are led to believe that the Greenville canvas was also painted in 1624. Nicolas de Son (the name proposed by Sterling [1934, p. 125]) engraved the work, not in reverse and very faithful to the original in detail.

The variations, few even in terms of color, between the canvas in the Louvre and the one at Greenville nevertheless confirm that the first represents Solomon welcoming the queen of Sheba and receiving her rich gifts. In the second painting, however, the presence of the scepter with which Ahasuerus gestures to Esther indicates that we are witnessing the magnificent biblical episode in which the Jewish queen, having received the grace of her people, prepares to touch the scepter of her master.

It would seem that on his return to Paris Vignon wanted to renew the Mannerist tradition of Lallemand, although the sparkle of the colors shows a knowledge of Venetian painting. The shining golds that make the Bordeaux reds, acid greens, and deep blues sing, this "theater sparkling with precious gems," is a far cry from the proud, violent language of Caravaggio, which had for a time seduced Vignon. The richly attired servants, the plumed page boys, the thick filaments of gold that cover the protagonists' robes and mantles are closer to the world of the *roman précieux* than to the world of the Bible. An external world, admittedly, with a facile, surface charm, but one that is nevertheless appealing and poetic and has the power of evocation and dream.

VOUET Simon

(1590 Paris; Paris 1649)

The career of Simon Vouet divides naturally into two periods: the artist's stay in Italy, which ended with his return to Paris in 1627, and the Paris period, from 1627 until his death twenty-two years later.

Son of Laurent Vouet, an obscure painter, Simon Vouet apparently went to England when quite young, then to Constantinople (1611-1612) and Venice (1612-1613). He was in Rome in 1614, where he remained until 1627 except for brief visits to Genoa and Milan in 1620-1621 (Brejon de Lavergnée, 1981). In 1617 he received a Brevet du Roi, and the following year he was given a royal pension. He is known to have been in contact with the colony of foreign artists in Rome, as well as with the best-known Italian painters of the day. In 1624, Vouet was elected president (principe) of the Accademia di San Luca, and the same year his reputation was assured by a commission for Saint Peter's, Rome (for the surviving fragmentary sketches, see Marandel, *Houston exh. cat.*, 1973-1975, nos. 92, 93). In 1624 he also undertook the decoration of the Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina. Vouet's Italian work is well known through a few church paintings, often in situ (San Francesco a Ripa, Rome; Sant' Ambrogio, Genoa; formerly Berlin [destroyed]; San Angelo a Segno, Naples; Alaleoni chapel, Rome; Certosa di San Martino, Naples; Gemäldegalerie, Dresden). He also painted several easel pictures and portraits that show a great freedom of handling and a moving spontaneity.

Vouet was one of the most celebrated artists in Rome and, on his arrival in Paris, became the leading painter of his own country, reordering its artistic life. Vouet's French œuvre is less well conserved and less studied than that of his years in Italy: many of the great decorations have been destroyed (for the important decoration from the château of Colombes, discovered at the town hall of Port-Marly, see Féray and Wilhelm, 1978); nearly all the church paintings, some of which are still missing, were removed during the Revolution. Furthermore, Vouet surrounded himself with a circle of collaborators (Dorigny, Torteat, Aubin Vouet, Poerson), and at his atelier he trained many of the best painters of the next generation, among them Le Sueur and Le Brun (who, in a way, became his successor as leader of French artistic life). In 1640, Vouet's position was threatened by Poussin's return to France (which elicited the famous remark of Louis XIII: "There's Vouet nicely trapped"), but Poussin's hasty and final departure for Italy cleared the field. In 1648, the year before he died, Vouet took an active part in the founding of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture.

In Italy, Vouet responded with sensitivity not only to Caravaggesque painting but also to the school of Bologna and to contemporary movements in Italian painting. Before his return to France, he was painting in lighter tones, using more vivid colors, and affecting a more decorative and elegant style, a vocabulary that he took back with him to France. A draftsman of the first order, a great décorateur and easel painter, Vouet was without doubt the most influential artist



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of his generation, and without him Paris would not have become one of the artistic centers of Europe.

Although somewhat obsolete, the monograph by William Crelly (1962) is still indispensable. The Rome-Paris exhibition of 1973-1974 and numerous articles provide further information about Vouet's sojourn in Italy. Less is known about the Paris period, and a serious study of these years cannot be undertaken until more is known about the styles and artistic personalities of Vouet's principal collaborators.

115.

Saint Margaret

Canvas, 99 × 74 cm

116.

Saint Ursula (?)

Canvas, 99 × 74 cm

Provenance: In Spain before 1961; according to A. Griseri (1961), the paintings "seem to have come from the dispersal of a Roman collection such as that of Dal Pozzo..."; acquired separately [from Frederick Mont] by the Wadsworth Atheneum, 1961.

Exhibitions: Bordeaux, 1966, no. 18, p. 9 (*Saint Margaret*); Amherst, 1974, no. 47 (*Saint Margaret*).

Bibliography: Griseri, 1961, pp. 322-325, ill.; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 3, 1961, p. 312 (*Saint Ursula* [?]); "Annual Report 1961," *Bulletin*



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of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Spring 1962, pp. 23-24, ill. pl. III (both paintings); Crelly, 1962, pp. 216-217, no. 141 A, B, fig. 7A (*Saint Ursula* [?]); *The Art Quarterly*, no. 1, 1962, p. 80, pl. p. 74 (*Saint Margaret*); Posner, 1963, p. 291; Dargent and Thuillier, 1965, p. 63; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, p. 250 (Italian ed.) p. 257 (French ed.); Marini, 1976, p. 163; Nicolson, 1979, p. 109.

Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford
The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection

These two paintings are still little known. Discovered in Spain by José Milicua and published in 1961 by Andreina Griseri, they were acquired separately, but in the same year, by the Wadsworth Atheneum. They have seldom been reproduced and have never been lent together to an exhibition. Only those who have seen the paintings have been able to admire the colors in the two works: the strawberry red banner in the *Saint Ursula* (?), the deep slate blue of the sleeve that flows out from the dark red mantle of the *Saint Margaret* (not *Saint Martha*, as is always claimed).

The attribution to Vouet suggested by Griseri, accepted by Crelly, and recently revived by Nicolson has been challenged by Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin (1973-1974), who classify the two paintings among "the works generally attributed to Vouet that should rather be given to unidentified students and imitators." Of course, it is clearer today that Vouet was imitated very early in his career and that many of the French painters in Rome adopted his style. In the Hartford paintings, however, everything points to Vouet's authorship: the long undulating fingers with fine nails, the ample drapery, the rounded heads seen *da sotto in sù*, the heavily braided hair, and of course the facial features. The well-set noses and the sensual lips of the young plebeian beauties who posed for Vouet almost make us forget that we are looking at religious paintings.

Andreina Griseri correctly relates the two works to the *Birth of the Virgin* in San Francesco a Ripa, Rome, probably painted shortly after 1620. All have a similar vigor of execution, heavy treatment of the models, decorative fullness of the drapery, and faces shining with light (also found in the two paintings in Naples of angels holding symbols of the Passion), and all show the same influences. Although both Hartford canvases are painted in the Caravaggesque tradition, they also show the influence of Borgianni and of the school of Bologna, whose works the young Vouet so much admired. The use of vivid, flashy colors, the decorative yet realistic aspect, the solemn yet restrained poses, and the musing, reserved humor are all typical of Vouet. We sense as well the pleasure the artist took in the very act of painting, the wonderfully innovative details such as the cross that Saint Margaret clasps delicately between her fingers and the tame dragon that holds, in his half-open mouth, a corner of her cloak.

117.

Saint Jerome and the Angel

Canvas, 145 × 180 cm

Inscribed, lower left: 25 (an old Barberini inventory number; see also No. 109)

Provenance: The painting appears to be mentioned in the 1671 and 1672 inventories of Cardinal Antonio Barberini (see M. A. Lavin, 1975, who supposes that it was confused either with another work of the same subject, but without the name of an artist, said to have been in the residence of Prince Taddeo in 1648, or with a painting that belonged to Maffeo Barberini in 1655). It was seen in 1689 by Robert de Cotte "in the Cardinal [Barberini's] lower apartments... 2nd room" (see Chennevières, 1854, and Thuillier, 1960). Two Saint Jeromes by Vouet, one of which was offered by "Mons. Feliciaia," are mentioned in Cardinal Carlo Barberini's inventory, which was begun in 1692 and was completed on his death in 1704. It is impossible to decide which of these paintings is the one that belonged to Cardinal Antonio. [Gabriel Sonnino, New York]. Samuel H. Kress, 1952; National Gallery of Art, 1961.

Bibliography: (Only a few of the National Gallery catalogues have been cited); Chennevières, 1854 (III) p. 154; Longhi, 1935, p. 6, fig. 9 (1972 ed., p. 10, fig. 8, 1979 ed. [II] p. 191); Longhi, 1943, pp. 32, 56, n. 76, fig. 75; Pauwels, 1951, pp. 161-162, fig. 5; Zeri, 1954, p. 7, no. 89, ill.; Mus. cat. (Suida-Shapley) 1956, p. 202, no. 80, ill.; Nicolson, 1958, p. 130, E.118; Picart, 1958, p. 25, no. 9; Réau, 1958 (III, 2) p. 748; Manning, 1959, p. 294, nn. 2-4, p. 295, fig. 1; Thuillier, 1960 (II) p. 205, n. 15; Crelly, 1962, pp. 43-44, 47, 222, no. 153, fig. 25; Mus. cat., 1965, p. 138, no. 1415; Dargent and Thuillier, 1965, pp. 43-44, no. A.15, pl. 32; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 198, 218, 248 (Italian ed.) pp. 204, 226, 255 (French ed.); Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, 1974, p. 30; M. A. Lavin, 1975, p. 308, no. 330 (IV. inv. 71), p. 341, no. 125 (IV. hered. 72), p. 433, no. 123 (VI. inv. 92-04) or

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p. 441, no. 337 (VI. inv. 92-04), pp. 533, 601 (also perhaps p. 207, no. 417 [V. inv. 48-49] and p. 274, no. 210 [VII. inv. 51]); Marini, 1976, p. 159; Mus. cat. (Eisler) 1977, pp. 259-261, fig. 244; Nicolson, 1979, p. 109.

The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Samuel H. Kress Collection 1961

The painting (of which two copies exist, one in the Chambéry Museum and one that appeared in a public sale in Brussels, 19 October 1966, no. 980, "attributed to Guerzino") was still in the Barberini collection, Rome, when it was mentioned and first reproduced by Roberto Longhi in 1935. Since that date, Vouet specialists have accorded it a place of importance among the works painted by the artist during his stay in Rome (1614-1627).

It was apparently first mentioned in 1671, according to the inventories edited by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin in 1975. The Barberini purchased many works by Vouet (among them, No. 120) and probably secured for him the commission for the large painting in Saint Peter's. Admittedly, in 1623 Vouet executed a portrait of the Barberini Pope Urban VIII (location unknown), but there is no proof that the *Saint Jerome* was painted for one of the members of the powerful (and Francophile) family.

The subject of the painting, one that was frequently treated in the seventeenth century and needs little clarification, shows two episodes from the life of Saint Jerome brought together in the same scene: the saint with naked torso in the desert, accompanied by an angel who holds a trumpet, and the cardinal at his worktable, writing the text of the Vulgate.

The date of the painting is more problematical: Longhi, Manning, and Picart place the work before 1620; Nicolson between 1620 and 1624; Thuillier between 1623 and 1625; Crelly, in his monograph on Vouet, and Eisler, in the Washington catalogue, place it still later, about 1625 at the earliest. It seems to us that the date 1622, suggested by Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin (in the entry on the

comparable *Saint Andrew*, private collection, Paris [Rome-Paris exh. cat., 1973-1974, no. 66, ill.; Paris, 1974, no. 70, ill.]), is the most feasible, although we do not entirely reject the possibility that it was painted before the journey to Genoa in 1620.

Vouet was undoubtedly inspired by Caravaggio's painting of the same subject (now in the Borghese Gallery, Rome), although he softened the style. In 1935, Roberto Longhi wrote of this painting, "I do not know of a Vouet that is more truly Caravaggesque. However, before this Saint Jerome, so clearly belonging to the third estate, with his scarf (*fusciacca*) and the still life, hidden almost reluctantly in the shadow, is the beautiful angel.... In short, Vouet was beginning to prefer Lanfranco to his compatriot Valentin." Vouet plays on the contrasts between the sturdy saint, the austere still life, the skull, the trumpet, the inkwell, the spectacles, the hourglass, the half-extinguished candle, and the beautiful (and somewhat androgynous) angel with great elegant wings and disheveled hair. The creamy whites of the wings and cloak, the yellow scarf across the angel's breast, and the red patch of the saint's robe give life to a composition that is severe in its construction. A violent light illuminates the wrinkled face of the saint, who turns toward the angel and raises his left hand in a gesture of gratitude.

Abandoning the implacable tension of Caravaggio, Vouet adopts a more superficial, less moving vocabulary, whose skillful elegance would prove pleasing to a new generation of patrons.

Angels with the Attributes of the Passion

118.

Angel Holding the Signpost from the Cross

Canvas, 104.5 × 78.5 cm

119.

Angel Holding the Vessel of Pontius Pilate

Canvas, 104.5 × 78.5 cm



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Provenance: Private collection, Italy [M. and C. Sestieri, Rome, 1969]: The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1969.

Exhibitions: College Park, University of Maryland Art Gallery, *Simon Vouet, First Painter to the King*, 1971, nos. 1a, b (mimeographed checklist).

Bibliography: *The Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin*, LVIII, 1969, p. 95, ill. p. 94; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts, La Chronique des Arts* (supp.) Feb. 1970, p. 64, nos. 293, 294, ill.; *The Art Quarterly*, Spring 1970, p. 86, pl. p. 89; Mus. cat., 1971, pp. 166-168, nos. 87a, b, ill.; Difederico, 1971, p. 357; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, p. 249 (Italian ed.) p. 256 (French ed.).

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts
The John R. Van Derlip Fund

"There are about a dozen paintings by the French painter Simon Vouet representing life-size, half-length figures of angels. These paintings have merit, they are painted in a grand manner, although they are a little dry and without fullness: the arrangements are ingenious and the brushwork easy." It was with these words that, in 1758, Charles-Nicolas Cochin (II) p. 191) described Vouet's angels, then in the della Rocca collection, Naples. In 1786, Lalande in his turn mentions them ([VII] p. 48), still in the same collection: "They are angels ingeniously disposed, painted with facility and treated in a grand style, but with a certain dryness." For a long time, these texts have been used to describe the two pictures in the Capodimonte Museum, Naples, the *Angel Carrying the Lance and Sponge* and the *Angel Holding the Dice and the Cloak of Christ* (Naples exh. cat., 1967, no. 16, a/b, pl. XVIII). One is tempted to apply them to the Minneapolis canvases as well. Not only are the dimensions of the paintings comparable, but more important, their settings present incontestable affinities: the same half-length figures,

the same poetic white wings that frame the faces, and the same fullness in the drapery.

It must be said, however, that the execution of the Naples paintings, similar in style to the two canvases at Hartford (Nos. 115, 116), is different from that of the Minneapolis works. The firm, well-defined modeling of the Naples pictures, painted with a free and vigorous hand, has given way to an execution rich in nuance, increasing the *cangiante* and giving an almost spangled effect. It is undoubtedly these differences, accentuated by harsh restoration, that explain the classification by Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin (1973-1974) of the Minneapolis paintings with the "works generally attributed to Vouet which should rather be given to students and unidentified imitators" (an opinion with which Erich Schleier concurs [in writing, 1981], finding the work "very beautiful but too bright" for Vouet).

In our opinion, they are indeed by Vouet. In the first place, none of Vouet's imitators so far identified would have been capable of painting with such *brio* and freedom; in the second, nothing indicates that the Minneapolis paintings were not executed at a date different from that of the Naples canvases. Although the number of well-documented works painted by Vouet during his stay in Italy (1614-1627) is considerable, not very much is known with certainty about the chronology of the life of this versatile artist, individual in his approach but always sensitive to external influences, which he was quick to turn to his own advantage. Perhaps, therefore, the two Minneapolis paintings were executed several years later than the ones at Naples. At any rate, they give evidence of the artist's new preoccupation with a kind of light that envelops and dissolves forms, multiplying drapery folds, increasing accents in hair, highlighting facial features and reflections (and heralding such paintings as *Time*

Vanquished by Hope, Love, and Beauty, 1627, in the Prado).

The sumptuous chromatic range of the Minneapolis paintings, the lushness of execution, the transfixed, dream-filled, and romantic faces of the two angels, as well as the monumentality and the ordering of the composition argue in favor of Vouet at a moment at which he abandoned his earlier realism in favor of a conception of painting that was increasingly idealized and romantic.

120.

The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John

Oil on panel, transferred to composition board, diam. 80 cm

Signature, on a section of the fluted column, difficult to read: SMON VOV.// et P.C. Vol... (Arnauld Brejon de Lavergnée wonders [verbal communication] if this signature should be read as Virginia da Vezzo, a painter originally from Velletri who married Vouet on 21 Apr. 1626.)

Provenance: According to the 1627-1640 list of paintings (M. A. Lavin, 1975) that entered the Barberini collections through a servant of the pope (probably Fausto Poli), the painting, which arrived on 6 Jan. 1627, had belonged to "Sig.^r Bastiano Pasetti"; cited in the collections of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597-1679) and his brother Prince Taddeo Barberini between 1627 and 1640. In Francesco's collection once again in Oct. 1649 at the Chancellor's Palace, Rome. Mentioned in the inventory drawn up in 1686, after the death of Prince Maffeo Barberini. It then belonged to his son Urbano (M. A. Lavin). Remained in the Barberini collection until the collection was divided (between 1812 and 1816), when, like Poussin's *Death of Germanicus* (No. 85), it entered the Corsini collections in Florence; acquired [by Colnaghi, London], July 1966, and sold [to Wildenstein, New York], May 1968; The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1974.

Exhibitions: London, Colnaghi, 1968, no. 7; Denver-New York-Minneapolis, 1978-1979, no. 44.

Bibliography: Orbaan, 1920, p. 497 (archival document); [Benedict Nicolson], *The Burlington Magazine*, May 1968, p. 292; Schleier, 1971, p. 70, fig. 10, p. 73, nn. 44-46; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, pp. 198, 248 (Italian ed.) pp. 204, 255 (French ed.); M. A. Lavin, 1975, p. 13, doc. 102, p. 44, doc. 354b, p. 85, no. 242 (III. inv. 26-31), p. 99, no. 1 (III. Coppiere. 27-40), p. 106, no. 242 (III. Barb. Lat. 5635), p. 241, no. 650 (III. inv. 49), p. 398, no. 87 (VII. inv. 86), pp. 533, 625; Bordeaux, 1977, pp. 36, 38; Rosenberg, Florence (exh. cat.) 1977, p. 159; Lee, 1980, pp. 213-214, fig. 1, p. 212.

The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco
Mildred Anna Williams Fund, 1974.8

The picture entered the Barberini collection 6 January 1627. The Barberini inventories, edited by Marilyn Aronberg Lavin (1975), have made it quite easy to follow its



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course during the seventeenth century. It must have become well known fairly rapidly, since in 1634 Pietro da Cortona borrowed it on the occasion of a theatrical performance and in 1638 a copy was made by a certain Mariano Vecchi (a little-known painter, native of Radicofani) for the Church of the Santi Apostoli, Rome (Lavin, pp. 13, 44). Today, two other copies are known, one in the Magnin Museum, Dijon (Mus. cat., 1938, no. 996, "French school mid-seventeenth century"), the other, which was twice put up for sale at Sotheby's, London (26 June 1974, no. 159 [attributed to Tassel], and 1 June 1977, no. 112 [also attributed to Tassel]). Furthermore, the painting was engraved in reverse by Jean Lenfant (1615-1674). We know of two states of this engraving (Lamy-Lassalle, 1938, p. 48, no. 22); the earlier one attributes the composition to Jacques Stella, and the second, engraved after Lenfant's death, to Vouet (both in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ed. 41 [I] pp. 16, 17).

The painting is of great importance, for there is every reason to believe that it was painted very shortly before it entered the Barberini collection, most probably in 1626. The group of the Virgin and Child in fact shows incontestable similarities, even in the attitudes and gestures, to the group in the *Vision of Saint Bruno*, in the Carthusian monastery of San Martino, Naples, signed and dated 1626 (not, as has been claimed, 1620). The landscape, which, according to Schleier (1971), "was strongly inspired by Tassi... Breenbergh, and Poelenburgh," is very similar to that in the *Virgin and Child* in the Uffizi (Florence exh. cat., 1977, no. 105, ill.), also painted on wood. These different paintings, together with the superb *Time Vanquished by Hope, Love, and Beauty*, 1627, in the Prado, confirm Vouet's stylistic development, on the eve of his departure for Venice and Paris, toward a painting in which the palette was lighter, owing more to the school of Bologna than to Caravaggism, which was then out of fashion. (It should be noted that Valentin's *David* [No 109]

entered the Barberini collection a few months after the Vouet painting.)

Contemporary with Poussin's *Death of Germanicus* (No. 85) and with Valentin's *Allegory of Rome* (now in the Finnish Institute, Rome), Vouet's *Holy Family* is painted in a very different style. The pyramidal composition, although not centered, is traditional. Vouet places the figure of Saint Joseph in an area of shadow, against which the group of the Virgin and Child and Saint John stands out. An obvious concern for rhythm and balance has guided Vouet's composition. Although a frequently treated subject, the work is made arresting through the use of light to create a shimmering effect on the branches of the trees and on the children's hair, through a highly refined palette, and through the gentle and loving expression of the Virgin. The charm and elegance of the painting are proof that before he finally settled in Paris in 1627, Vouet had found a style that would assure his success and gain for him official recognition in the form of important commissions.

121.

Chronos, Venus, Mars, and Cupid

Canvas (oval), 146 × 108 cm (the composition, originally rectangular, was made into an oval by painting over the angles in the canvas in black)

Provenance: Acquired by John Ringling in London, c. 1926-1930, as a work by an unknown Italian artist. On his death in 1936, John Ringling donated both his house and the collections in it to the state of Florida.

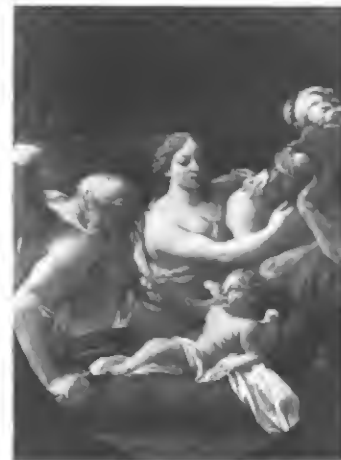
Exhibitions: New York, 1946, no. 54; Jacksonville-St. Petersburg, 1969-1970, no. 49; College Park, University of Maryland Art Gallery, *Simon Vouet, First Painter to the King*, 1971, no. 20 (mimeographed checklist); New York-Tampa, 1981, no. 52, pl. 28.

Bibliography: Mus. cat. (Suida) 1949, p. 297, no. 360, pl. p. 286; Pigler, 1956 (II) p. 158; Manning, 1959, pp. 297, 303, fig. 15, p. 302; Creilly, 1962, p. 216, no. 139; Picart [after 1962] pp. 40, 60, no. 119, cover ill.; Tomory, Dec. 1971, unpaginated, ill.

John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota

The attribution of the Sarasota painting to Vouet, proposed in 1949 by Suida (and Walter Heil), has not been challenged since that date. The work must have been well known, since an early copy exists, also in an oval frame, which was put up for sale in Paris, 16 Mars 1981 (ill. in unnumbered cat.), under the curious but revealing attribution to Marcantonio Franceschini.

Yves Picart (after 1962) put forward the hypothesis that the canvas may have decorated the Hôtel de Bretonvilliers in



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the seventeenth century. And in fact, in descriptions of seventeenth-century Paris (Dezallier d'Argenville *fi*ls, 1778 ed.; p. 219; Thiéry, 1787-1788 [II] p. 128), apart from the famous ceiling by Bourdon ("completely ruined" since that time) and Vouet's overmantel, where "one sees Hope with Cupid and Venus attempting to pluck out Saturn's wings" (probably the painting now in the Bourges Museum), there is mention of a ceiling, also by Vouet, with a "Chronos... accompanied by several Divinities and some children in the square compartments" (Dezallier). In our opinion, there are two reasons for disagreeing with this identification: we learn from the inventories of works of art seized during the Revolution that the ceiling was painted on wood (I. G.R.A.F. [II] 1886, p. 280; see also pp. 75-76, 80); and more important, whatever its earliest form may have been, it is difficult to accept that the Sarasota painting could ever have been part of a ceiling decoration. If the work originally had a decorative function, it can only have been as ornamentation over a mantelpiece.

The canvas shows Chronos discovering Cupid, while Mars is caressed by Venus. The net is the one Vulcan will use to capture Mars and Venus to prove their guilt to the gods of Olympus. As Tomory specified (1971), the picture is an allegory of Love vanquished by Time.

The painting obviously belongs to Vouet's Paris period. The vivid colors, the skillful linking of the gestures, and the play of glances between the two couples indicate a date of about 1640. At this time, during Poussin's brief and unhappy return to Paris, Vouet reigned over the artistic life of that city. His learned and elegant art — *au courant* with the latest Italian Baroque developments, yet retaining its own character — was perfectly suited to the tastes of his Paris clientele, responding to the demands of a city that only recently had become (once again) one of the great artistic capitals of the time.

The Toilet of Venus

Canvas, 165 × 115 cm

Provenance: Generally believed to come from the collection of the comtesse du Barry (1743-1793), her (?) sale, Paris, 17 Feb. 1777, p. 7, no. 18, but the description of the painting ("Venus sitting on a day-bed, looking at herself in a mirror... close by are two cupids playing with a dove") and its dimensions (5 *pieds 8 pouces* × 4 *pieds 8 pouces*, hence approximately 1.83 m × 1.51 m) clearly indicate that the du Barry painting is the canvas of the same subject now in the Cincinnati Museum (see Inventory). Collection of Jules Burat, sold after his death, Paris, 28-29 Apr. 1855, p. vi, no. 204 (660 francs); collection of Jean-Paul Mazaroze-Ribalier, "fabricant de meubles d'art," Paris sale, 13-14 May 1890, no. 94; acquired by Mary Cassatt, c. 1905, in Paris, for her brother J. Gardiner Cassatt; Mrs. Horace Binney Hare, Radnor, Pennsylvania, daughter of J. Gardiner Cassatt; Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, 1952.

Exhibitions: New York, Wildenstein, 1967, no. 67, ill.; College Park, University of Maryland Art Gallery, *Simon Vouet, First Painter to the King*, 1971, no. 23 (mimeographed checklist).

Bibliography: *The Art Quarterly*, no. 2, 1953, p. 151; Washburn, 1953, pp. 41-43, ill. p. 42; Sweet, 1958, p. 202, fig. 3, p. 206; Manning, 1959, p. 303, pl. 17, p. 302; Crelly, 1962, pp. 126-127, 207, no. 125, fig. 179; Picart [after 1962] p. 16, n. 5, p. 56, no. 8, pl. 5; Sweet, 1966, p. 141; Difederico, 1971, p. 358, fig. 94, p. 356; Held and Posner, 1972, p. 151, fig. 157; Adams, 1973, p. 11, fig. 5, p. 10; Anon., 1973, pp. 69, 71, n. 13, fig. 13, p. 67; Mus. cat., 1973, p. 175, colorpl. 13.

Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh
Gift of Mrs. Horace Binney Hare, 1952

Although the painting belonged to Mary Cassatt and not, as had always been assumed until recently (see Provenance), to a woman known in a very different milieu, Mme du Barry, we still do not know for whom it was originally painted. It was, however, well known in the seventeenth century, since it was engraved by Vouet's son-in-law, Michel Dorigny (1617-1665), two years after Vouet's death (Weigert, 1954 [III] p. 489, no. 132, engraved in reverse and often reproduced, notably in Manning, 1959).

The fact that Simon Vouet treated the subject at least one other time (Cincinnati Art Museum; Adams, 1973, ill. in color; see also, for a tapestry of the same subject, Fenaille, 1923 [I]) makes the task of identifying the first owner of the painting all the more difficult, particularly since the compositions of the Cincinnati and Pittsburgh paintings are very close. In any case, we know that Vouet painted a *Toilet of Venus* for the decoration of the Hôtel du Président Pérault (Dezallier d'Argenville, 1762 ed. [IV] p. 18), but nothing indicates that the Pérault canvas is in fact the one at Pittsburgh.

It is generally agreed that the work was painted during



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Vouet's Paris period — that is, between 1627 and 1649 — but while Picart and the Pittsburgh Museum catalogue (1973) place it between 1628 and 1633, Crelly, Manning, and Difederico adhere to the more convincing date of about 1640 or 1645. Crelly's comparison of the painting with the *Allegory of Prudence* at Montpellier (1962, fig. 183), which is probably a fragment from the decoration of the Palais-Royal executed for Anne of Austria in 1645, would seem to confirm this hypothesis.

The graceful and elegant composition repeats a series of curves and arcs of a circle. The colors, which are identical in the Pittsburgh and Cincinnati paintings — the red of the curtain that closes the composition, the blue drapery that barely conceals Venus's body, the bed of chased metal, the golden vase — all serve to emphasize the decorative function of the painting, but to reproach Vouet for this would be to neglect the probable destination of the first painting. The sensuality of the work emanates from the dancing rhythm of the legs and arms, from such details as the blue sandal at the foot of the bed, the comb, and above all the oval mirror (rather than an octagonal one, as in the Cincinnati painting) that reflects the beautiful face of Venus, who, while she admires herself also looks out at the viewer. With the *Toilet of Venus*, Vouet began a new tradition, one that would come to full flower a century later in the work of Boucher.

Anonymous

123.

Saint Matthew and the Angel

Canvas, 108 × 124 cm

Provenance: Acquired by John Ringling, New York, between 1927 and 1931.

Exhibitions: Richmond, *England's World of 1607*, 1957 (no cat.); Sarasota, 1960, no. 6, ill.; Cleveland, 1971-1972, no. 80, ill.

Bibliography: Mus. cat. (Suida) 1949, p. 97, no. 109, pl. p. 96; Austin, 1950, pl. p. 14; Nicolson, 1960, p. 226; Waal, 1964, p. 39, n. 83, pl. 29, p. 29; Rosenberg, 1966, p. 6, fig. 3; Fredericksen and Zeri, 1972, p. 45; Held, 1972, p. 45, ill. p. 47; Volpe, 1972, p. 76; Spear, 1975, pp. 198-199, ill.; Mus. cat. (Tomory) 1976, p. 196; Nicolson, 1979, p. 40.

John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota

The painting, a copy of which exists in the Art Museum, Princeton University, has been attributed to a great variety of artists: Orazio Gentileschi, Régnier, Tournier, Vouet, Borgianni, Douffet, and Jacob van Oost, to name but a few. However, none of these names has gained much support, let alone the unanimous opinion of art historians. There is, however, a general consensus that the work was executed between 1620 and 1630 by a foreign artist established in Rome.

We have chosen to exhibit the work for several reasons. First, the painting is magnificent. The contrast between the wrinkled face of Saint Matthew with his bald head and the gentle, inspired face of the angel with jet black hair, who dictates the divine word, is the work of a great artist, as are the angel's hand that rests delicately on the saint's shoulder, the two great wings that dominate the scene, and the light that places the two faces in shadow to better illuminate the Gospel.

We also wanted, for the sake of comparison, to exhibit the work with Vouet's canvas of the same subject (No. 117), a work of a similar subject and painted about the same time: two interpretations, as individual as they are poetic, of Caravaggio.

Finally, we wished to state clearly the problem of the nationality of the artist, who, in our opinion, also painted the *Saint Jerome* in the Corsini Gallery, Florence (Nicolson, 1979, fig. 71). Although the majority of art historians today regard the Sarasota painting as the work of an artist of "southern Flemish" origins (Longhi [cat., 1949], Nicolson, Spear), not a single name — not even that of Jacob van Oost the Elder (1601-1671), which is most frequently proposed — is satisfactory. To be convinced, one need only compare the



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Sarasota painting with the *Adoration of the Shepherds* of 1630, the earliest work definitely by Jacob van Oost, to see that the latter is far closer to the *Le Nains* (Vsevolozhskaya and Linnik, 1975, colorpl. pp. 185-187) than to the Sarasota painting. If, however, one accepts Longhi's definition of what is typically French in the international Caravaggesque movement in Rome, then one must agree that the Sarasota painting shows many features of this school: the restraint, the sobriety, and above all, the reserved melancholy tinged with nostalgia. Through these characteristics we may begin to define the style of the author of the *Saint Matthew*, the exhibition of which will perhaps enable us to find the artist's name.

Anonymous

124.

Death Comes to the Table

Canvas, 120.5 × 174 cm

Provenance: [Joseph Brummer, New York]; Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, 1920-1954; [Hirschl and Adler, New York]; collection of Lillye Menard; New Orleans Museum of Art, 1956.

Exhibitions: Sarasota, 1960, no. 2, ill.; New Orleans, 1962-1963, no. 25, pl. 61; Jacksonville-St. Petersburg, 1969-1970, no. 26, ill.; Cleveland, 1971-1972, no. 24, ill.

Bibliography: Mus. cat. (Northampton) 1925, p. 25, pl. p. 44; *The Art Quarterly*, no. 2, 1956, p. 199; Nicolson, 1960, p. 226; Bodart, 1970 (1) p. 210; Borea, 1972, pp. 160-161, fig. 9, nn. 10-13; Fredericksen and Zeri, 1972, p. 157; Pepper, 1972, p. 171; Rosenberg, 1972, p. 113, fig. 7; Spear, 1972, p. 158; Volpe, 1972, pp. 64-65, pl. 15; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, Rome-Paris (exh. cat.) 1973-1974, p. 241 (Italian ed.) pp. 248-249 (French ed.); Brejon



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de Lavergnée and Cuzin, 1974, p. 37; Sricchia Santoro, 1974, pp. 44, 46, n. 31; Spear, 1975, pp. 88-89, ill., p. 228; Cantelli, 1978, pp. 138-140, fig. 28; Nicolson, 1979, pp. 47, 67; Mus. cat., 1980, p. 47, ill.

New Orleans Museum of Art
Gift of Mrs. William Helis, Sr.

The painting is riveting. That it has had great success is confirmed by the existence of eight copies, replicas, or autograph copies, all of which have more or less significant variations (one should add to the versions mentioned by Nicolson [1979] the painting in a private collection, Meudon, which copies the work in Saint-Denis-de-la-Réunion, as well as the paintings put up for sale in New York [Sotheby's, 14 March 1980, no. 133, ill.] and London [Christie's, 29 May 1981, no. 94, ill. and 17 December 1981, no. 53, ill.]).

At the end of a banquet at which three gentlemen and two young women are gathered around a table laden with fruits and desserts, Death appears holding an hourglass. All the protagonists — including an old servant whose face shows disgust and one of the lords who has just risen from his chair — turn toward the macabre apparition with expressions of horror. But Death, it would appear, addresses only the young man who holds his hand to his chest. The guitarist, at left, with his gesture of terror and astonishment, seems relieved that he has not been chosen; and while one of the young women wrings her hands in fear, the other points in the direction of the hideous specter and his victim.

The work has always fascinated art historians; in terms of attribution, there are two opposite schools of thought. While the attribution to Manfredi (which the painting bore when it belonged to the Smith College Museum, Northampton) is no longer maintained, it has been regarded as the work either of a French or Flemish Caravaggesque painter established in Rome between 1620 and 1630 or of an artist from Tuscany. In favor of the first hypothesis (and confining ourselves to published opinion), one might cite the names of Finson? (Nicolson, 1960; see also Bodart, 1970), Cecco da Caravaggio

(C. Gilbert, in the 1960 exh. cat.), Leclerc (1962-1963 and 1969-1970 exh. cats.), Ducamps? (Rosenberg, 1972; Spear, 1972; Brejon de Lavergnée and Cuzin, 1973-1974), and, more recently and without reservation, Ducamps (Nicolson, 1979). The second hypothesis has gained many defenders since the exhibition of the painting at Cleveland (1971-1972), when Pepper, Röttgen (see Spear, 1975), and Spear joined Volpe and Sricchia, who shared the opinion of Borea and Cantelli in favor of a Florentine artist, most probably Giovanni Martinelli (1610-1659), according to Cantelli. But while it is worth remembering that in 1972 Fredericksen and Zeri attributed the work to Paolini (the second of these authors also advanced [verbally] the name of Rutilio Manetti), we must not forget that Mina Gregori (verbally, 1981) resolutely dismisses any attribution of the work to the school of Tuscany.

Certainly the Florentine hypothesis should not be rejected without further examination. We know of the importance during the seventeenth century of this school, which until recent years has been arbitrarily neglected by art historians. Admittedly, the perfect oval faces and the coldness of the light, so reminiscent of Carlo Dolci, can be found in numerous Florentine works of the first half of the century; however, never, as far as we know, did a Tuscan artist chisel with such acute meticulousness each detail, and never did a Florentine artist use light with such violence for expressive — one might almost say “theatrical” — ends.

However, if one rejects the Florentine hypothesis, which we do only to be cautious, since there is still a great deal to be discovered about the links between this school and Rome during the years 1625-1635, there remains the question of authorship. As mentioned above, the name Jean Ducamps is most frequently cited. The artist, still occasionally confused with Cecco da Caravaggio, was born in Cambrai about 1600. He was a student of Abraham Janssens at Antwerp and was in Rome (where he was called Giovanni del Campo) in 1622 and until 1637-1638, the date of his departure for Spain. He had connections not only with the Flemish colony, with Pieter van Laer, and with the Bent but also with the Accademia di San Luca. If we have chosen not to attribute the New Orleans painting to Ducamps, it is because none of the works that might be grouped around the painting can with certainty be related to any documented work by this artist. (Did Ducamps paint the *Liberation of Saint Peter* in Florence [exh. cat. Florence, 1977, no. 97, ill.]? Sandrart assures us that he executed a canvas with this subject.)

Finally, while we await the resolution of the Ducamps hypothesis, we prefer to exhibit the painting with anonymous works attributed to Caravaggesque artists of northern origin who lived in what was then the very cosmopolitan city of Rome. Although the attribution of the New Orleans canvas remains open to discussion, no one can question its quality.

Inventory

of Seventeenth-Century French Paintings
in Public Collections in the United States

The following Inventory of seventeenth-century French paintings in American museums and public collections is intended to be as complete as possible. The scope of this project is such, however, that its limitations must be stated at the outset: there are many museums in the United States that we have been unable to visit. In most cases, the paintings in these institutions have been published; some, however, may have escaped the attention of specialists, while others may not have been catalogued or photographed. Although we have tried during the past twenty years to visit the principal museums and to see the most important works in the country, it has, of course, been impossible to visit every one of the several thousand institutions that house French paintings of this period. With this caveat in mind, the reader may find helpful the following explanatory comments regarding the Inventory:

— We have tried to obtain photographs of all the seventeenth-century French paintings in the United States that we know of.

— We have revised many of the attributions given to these works. As mentioned above, it has been possible to see most of the paintings themselves; sometimes, however, we have had to be satisfied with photographs. We are well aware of the delicacy of some of the stands we have taken and regret, particularly for the Poussin at Richmond, the Dughets, and the Monnoyer, that we have been unable to verify *de visu* attributions made several years ago. In any case, the photographs that accompany the Inventory will allow the reader to agree or disagree with our attributions.

— A short selection of unattributed paintings follows the Inventory. There are of course many other paintings — sometimes assigned too readily to a major seventeenth-century French artist, sometimes listed under the general heading Seventeenth-Century French School — for which it has not been possible to find convincing attributions. Four types of works have proved particularly difficult to ascribe with certainty: portraits, landscapes, floral still lifes, and battle scenes — genres that are represented by fine examples in many American museums. If recent scholarship has focused on those artists in the forefront of each genre — Champaigne, Dughet and Claude, Monnoyer and Blain de Fontenay, Courtois and Joseph Parrocel (neither artist, to our knowledge, represented in any American collection) — it has rarely extended its scrutiny to artists of the second rank, or to the imitators and many followers of these masters. For this reason, we have had to leave many fine paintings in a state of anonymity.

— Artists are listed alphabetically; their works are listed alphabetically by institution.

— Life dates of artists are given only for those not

represented in the exhibition. The number following the title of a painting is the one in the exhibition catalogue. Only those works not in the exhibition are reproduced in the Inventory.

— A question mark (?) *preceding* the title indicates that the attribution offered is a tentative one. A question mark *following* the title indicates that we are not sure of having correctly identified the subject of the painting.

— The names of lending institutions are given in abbreviated form — e.g., Boston, New York, Los Angeles; they appear in full in Lenders to the Exhibition. The names of museums that have not lent to the exhibition are given in full.

— An Index of Inventory by City follows the Inventory, allowing the reader to see at a glance where the principal seventeenth-century French paintings are housed.

— The Index of Inventory by City is followed by an essay by Elisabeth Foucart-Walter, Conservateur in the Department of Paintings at the Louvre, in which are discussed paintings granted to Catholic churches in the United States during the Restoration. Many of these works have yet to be located, and it is hoped that the publication of this essay will facilitate identification.

We are aware that these lists are incomplete; they are intended to serve only as an indication of the vast number of seventeenth-century French paintings in the United States.

We hope the Inventory will encourage curators and researchers, both French and American, to make known their comments and differences of opinion. The lists are but an *esquisse* for the complete listing of seventeenth-century paintings in the United States that we would like one day to compile.

While the responsibility for attributions is ours alone, this Inventory could not have been assembled without the collaboration of our French and American friends. Special thanks are due the many American curators who generously passed on information, often giving us new leads, or who provided us with photographs of paintings previously unknown to us. It is not possible to name them all, but we ask them here to accept our gratitude.

ANDRÉ Frère Jean
(1662 ?-1753)

- 1 *The Resurrection*
Greenville

BAUDESSON Nicolas
(1611-1666)

- 2 (?) *Vase of Flowers*
Salt Lake City, Utah Museum of Fine Arts

BEAUBRUN Henri
(1603-1677)

BEAUBRUN Charles
(1604-1692)

- 3 *Portrait of Maria Theresa, Wife of Louis XIV*
(studio)
Omaha, Creighton University

BELLANGE Jacques
(d. before 1624)

- 4 (?) *The Holy Family with Saint Anne*
New York (1976.100.12)

- 5 (?) *Scene from the Commedia dell'arte*
Sarasota

BLAIN (or BELIN) DE FONTENAY Jean-Baptiste
(1653-1715)

- 6 *Mme Lambert de Thorigny Arranging Flowers in a Wreath*
(in collaboration with Largillierre)
Honolulu

- 7 (?) *Floral Decoration*
New London, Lyman Allyn Museum

- 8 *Vase of Flowers*
New York (07.225.274)

BLANCHARD Jacques

- 9 *The Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth and the Infant Saint John*
Chicago

Portrait of a Young Man
Detroit (No. 3)

- 10 (?) *The Virgin and Child*
Malibu

Angelica and Medoro
New York (No. 4)

Allegory of Charity
Toledo (No. 5)

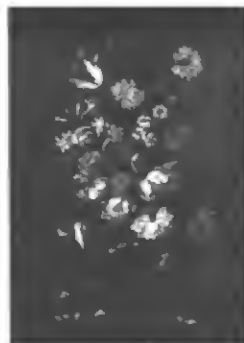
- 11 *Portrait of a Sculptor*
Toledo

BLANCHARD Jean
(after 1602-1665)

- 12 (?) *Kitchen with Fireplace and Hare*
Indianapolis



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2



3



4



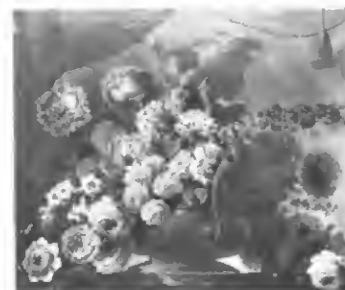
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11



12

BOUCLE Pierre van

- 1 *Game and Basket of Fruit with a Goat*
Atlanta
- 2 *Basket of Fruit and Fish*
Bloomington, Indiana University Art
Museum
- 3 (?) *Still Life with Cock and Hen*
Chicago, The First National Bank of Chicago
- 4 *Still Life with Dead Turkey*
Notre Dame, The University Art Gallery
- Basket of Fruit*
Toledo (No. 6)



1



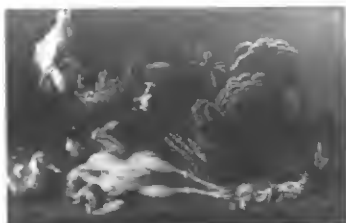
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3

BOURDON Sébastien

- 5 *Eliezar and Rebecca* (copy ?)
Boston
- 6 *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (copy ?)
Boston
- 7 *The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel at the Well*
Champaign, Krannert Art Museum,
University of Illinois
- 8 *Christ and the Little Children*
Chicago
- Portrait of a Man*
Chicago (No. 10)
- 9 *The Holy Family* (copy ?)
Dayton Art Institute
- 10 *Moses Left in the Bullrushes* (copy ?)
Greenville
- 11 *The Smoker*
Hartford
- The Departure of Jacob* (?)
Houston (No. 8)
- 12 *Moses and the Daughters of Jetbro*
Minneapolis



4



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12

BOURDON (continued)

- 1 *Et in Arcadia Ego*
New Haven
- 2 *Baptism of Christ*
New York
- 3 (?) *Portrait of a Young Boy*
(formerly attributed to Vermeer)
New York (49.7.39)
- 4 (?) *Portrait of a Man*
Norfolk

Landscape with Ford
Northampton (No. 9)

The Encampment
Oberlin (No. 7)
- 5 *Flight into Egypt*
Philadelphia, La Salle College Art Gallery
- 6 *Landscape* (fragment)
Pittsburgh

Landscape with Mill
Providence (No. 12)
- 7 (?) *Landscape with Shepherd Leading His Herd*
San Francisco
- 8-12 *The Seven Acts of Mercy*
(seven original paintings; mediocre state)
Sarasota



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BOURDON (continued)

1, 2 *The Seven Acts of Mercy* (continued)

The Finding of Moses
Washington, D.C. (No. 11)

3 *Portrait of the Countess Ebba Sparre*
Washington, D.C.

4 *The Massacre of the Innocents*
Worcester Art Museum

BOUYS André
(1656-1740)

5 *Tablecloth with Still Life and Little Boy*
Hartford

CANDLELIGHT MASTER

see MAÎTRE À LA CHANDELLE

CHAMPAIGNE Jean-Baptiste de

The Last Supper
Detroit (No. 13)

6 *The Stoning of Saint Paul*
Elmira, Arnot Art Museum

CHAMPAIGNE Philippe de

Christ Healing the Deaf-Mute
Ann Arbor (No. 18)

7 (?) *Portrait of an Alderman*
(Louis de Boullongne the Elder, according to
B. Dorival)
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

8 *Self-Portrait*
Cambridge

9 *Portrait of Valentin Valleron de Perrochel* (copy)
Boston

10 *Saint Joseph the Carpenter*
Cambridge

11 *The Virgin with Book*
Cambridge

12 *Charles II, King of England*
Cleveland



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CHAMPAIGNE (continued)

- 1 *Christ Mocked*
Greenville

The Penitent Magdalen
Houston (No. 14)

Christ on the Cross
Kansas City (No. 17)

Moses and the Ten Commandments
Milwaukee (No. 15)

- 2 *Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Colbert*
New York

- 3 *Portrait of an Unknown Man*
Holding a Little Dog
New York, The New-York Historical
Society (on loan to the Metropolitan
Museum, L. 1979.25)

- 4 *The Virgin* (studio)
New York, The New-York Historical
Society

- 5 *The Angel Gabriel* (studio)
New York, The New-York Historical
Society

- 6 *The Presentation of Christ in the Temple*
Ponce

- 7 *The Adoration of the Shepherds*
Portland Art Museum

- 8 (?) *Portrait of a Man* (copy)
Princeton

- 9 *Christ and the Doctors* (studio)
Sacramento, Crocker Art Museum

- 10 *Saint Louis, King of France*
St. Louis

- 11 *Landscape with the Healing of the Blind of Jericho*
San Diego, Putnam Foundation, Timken Art
Gallery

- 12 *Portrait of an Alderman*
(incorrectly called *Marin Cureau de la*
Chambre)
Toledo

Portrait of Omer II Talon
Washington, D.C. (No. 16)



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CHAPERON Nicolas

The Nurture of Jupiter
Chapel Hill (No. 19)

- 1 *The Union of Venus and Bacchus*
Dallas (Hoblitzelle Foundation Loan)
- 2 *The Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple*
Houston

COLOMBEL Nicolas

- 3 *The Finding of Moses*
Greenville
 - 4 *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*
Los Angeles
 - 5 *The Adoration of the Magi*,
New Orleans
 - 6 *Christ Chasing the Money-Changers
from the Temple*
St. Louis
 - 7 *Christ Punishing the Blind Man*
St. Louis
- Moses Defending the Daughters of Jethro*
Stanford (No. 20)

CORNEILLE Michel
(1642-1708)

- 8 (?) *Holy Family with Saint Joseph*
Greenville

COURTOIS Jacques

- 9 *Cavalry Review*
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (37.282)
- 10 *Battle Scene*
Boston (1970.602)
- 11 *Battle Scene*
Detroit (89.68)
- 12 *Battle Scene*
Lexington, Virginia, Washington and Lee
University



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COURTOIS (continued)

- 1 (?) *Battle Scene*
New York, The Brooklyn Museum (13.84)
- 2 *Meeting of Cavalrymen*
Phoenix Art Museum (58.57)
- 3 (?) *Battle Scene*
Portland Art Museum (73.37)
- 4 (?) *The Conversion of Saint Paul*
Princeton (28.10)
Battle Between Turks and Christians
San Francisco (No. 22)
After the Battle
San Francisco (No. 23)
- 5 *Battle Scene*
Shawnee, Oklahoma, Mabey-Gerrit
Museum



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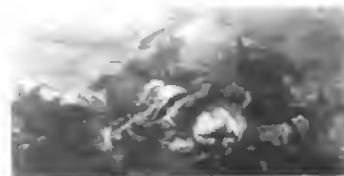
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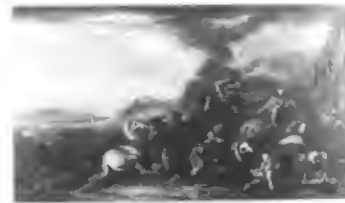
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COURTOIS Guillaume
called Guglielmo CORTESE
(1628-1679)

- 6 *Sarah Taken to Abimelech's House*
Greenville
- 7 *Flight into Egypt*
Princeton



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COYPEL, Noël
(1628-1707)

- 8 *The Emperor Trajan Holding Public Audience*
(studio)
Norfolk
- 9 *The Resurrection*
Notre Dame, The University Art Gallery



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CRETEY, Pierre-Louis
(1645?-1721)

- 10 *The Nativity*
Detroit

DARET Jacques

Woman Playing a Lute
New Haven (No. 24)

DERUET Claude

The Departure of the Amazons for War
New York (No. 25)

- 11 *The Combat of the Amazons and the Greeks*
New York



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12

DUGHET Gaspard

Landscape with Saint Jerome in the Desert
Boston (No. 27)

- 12 *Landscape with Shepherds*
Boston (39.729)

DUGHET (continued)

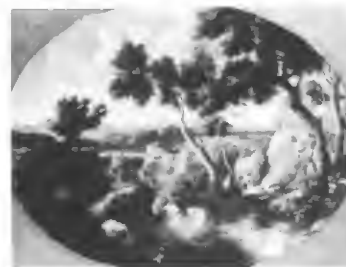
- 1 *Landscape with Hunter* (imitator)
Boston (on deposit from the Boston
Athenaeum)
- 2 *Landscape with Fortified Village in the Hills*
Cherry Valley, California, Edward-Dean
Museum of Decorative Arts
Landscape with Goatherd and His Flock
Chicago (No. 26)
- 3 *Landscape with Hunters in Pursuit of a Stag*
Cleveland
- 4 *Landscape* (copy)
Detroit (28.54)
- 5 *Landscape with Pond and Buildings*
Lawrence
- 6 *Landscape with Two Hares in the Foreground*
Madison, Elvehjem Museum of Art,
University of Wisconsin
- 7 *Hunting the Heron*
Minneapolis, University Gallery, University
of Minnesota
- 8 *Landscape with Shepherd and His Flock* (copy)
Muncie, Ball State University
- 9 *An Italian River Valley*
New York (08.227.1)
- 10 *Landscape with Waterfall* (imitator)
Oberlin
- 11 *Landscape with Jutting Rock*
Pittsburgh
The Cascatelle at Tivoli
Ponce (No. 28)
- 12 *Landscape* (copy)
Princeton



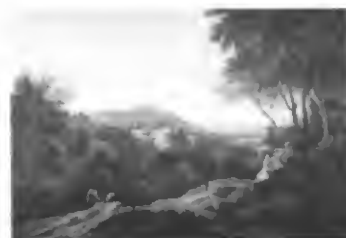
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DUGHET (continued)

- 1 *Landscape with Hare* (copy)
Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University
- 2 *Landscape with Three Figures in the Foreground*
(copy)
Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University
- 3 *Landscape with Bathers* (copy)
Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University
- 4 *Landscape of Tivoli* (copy)
San Francisco
- 5 *Landscape with Shepherd and His Flock*
Sarasota
- 6 *Landscape with Eurydice* (copy)
Sarasota
- 7 *View of Tivoli*
Seattle Art Museum



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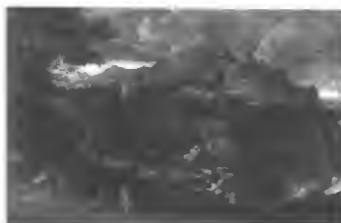
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FRANÇOIS Guy

The Holy Family in Saint Joseph's Workshop
Hartford (No. 29)

GASCARS Henri
(1634-1701)

- 8 *Portrait of the Duchess of Grafton*
Providence, Brown University



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GELLÉE Claude, see Claude LORRAIN

GOBERT Pierre
(1662-1744)

- 9 *Portrait of a Woman as Diana* (studio)
Cambridge



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LA HYRE Laurent de

- 10 *Grammar*, 1650 (Louis de La Hyre?)
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
- 11 *Arithmetic*, 1650 (Louis de La Hyre?)
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
- Cyrus Announcing to Araspras that Panthea Has Obtained His Pardon*
Chicago (No. 31)
- The Kiss of Peace and Justice*, 1654
Cleveland (No. 34)
- 12 *Moses Saved from the Bullrushes*
Detroit



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12

LA HYRE (continued)

- 1 *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (studio)
Detroit
- 2 *The Rape of Europa*
Houston
- 3 *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1648
Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum
- 4 *Landscape with Diana and Her Nymphs*,
1644 (studio)
Malibu

Allegory of Music, 1649
New York (No. 33)

Job Restored to Prosperity
Norfolk (No. 32)

Two Nymphs Bathing
Ponce (No. 30)
- 5 *The Holy Family*, 1646 (studio)
Poughkeepsie
- 6 *Geometry*, 1649 (Louis de La Hyre ?)
Toledo



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LALLEMANT Georges
(1575/76-1636)

- 7 *Saint Sebastien Mourned by Two Angels*
Norfolk

LA TOUR Georges de

- Saint Peter Repentant*, 1645
Cleveland (No. 40)
- 9 *Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene* (copy)
Detroit
- 9 *Girl with the Candle* (fragment from the
Education of the Virgin)
Detroit

The Cheat with the Ace of Clubs
Fort Worth (No. 38)
- 10 *The Ecstasy of Saint Francis* (copy)
Hartford
- 11 *Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene* (copy)
Kansas City
- 12 *The Magdalen with the Flickering Flame*
Los Angeles

The Musicians' Brawl
Malibu (No. 37)

The Fortune Teller
New York (No. 39)



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LA TOUR (continued)

- 1 *The Magdalen with Two Flames*
New York
- 2 *The Education of the Virgin* (copy)
New York, The Frick Collection
- 3 *Saint Philip*
Norfolk
- 4 *The Pipe Blower* (copy)
St. Louis
Old Man
San Francisco (No. 35)
Old Woman
San Francisco (No. 36)
- 5 *The Magdalen at the Mirror*
Washington, D.C.



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LE BRUN Charles

- 6 *The Purification*, 1645
Detroit
- 7 *The Descent of the Holy Ghost* (studio ?)
Greenville
- 8 *The Holy Family* (studio)
Houston, Menil Foundation Collection
- 9 *The Holy Family*
Minneapolis
Venus Clipping Cupid's Wings
Ponce (No. 41)



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LECLERC Jean

- (?) *Saint Stephen Mourned by Gamaliel and Nicodemus*
Boston (No. 42)



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LEDART Pierre
(c. 1630-after 1697)

- 10 *The Virgin and Child Surrounded by Angels*
1681
Greenville

LEFEVRE Claude
(1632-1675)

- 11 *Portrait of Louis XIV*
New Orleans



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LE MAIRE Jean

- (?) Contributed the architectural sections to
Claude Vignon's
Banquet of Anthony and Cleopatra, Hartford
(for illustration, see Vignon)
*Achilles Discovered Among the Daughters of
Lycomedes*
Los Angeles (No. 43)

LE NAIN Antoine

- The Village Piper*
Detroit (No. 44)
- 12 *Preparations for the Dance*
(fine old copy)
Kansas City

LE NAIN (continued)

Three Young Musicians
Los Angeles (No. 45)

- 1 *The Blessing*
Pittsburgh, The Frick Art Museum
- 2 *The Young Card Players*
(repainted original) Williamstown

LE NAIN Louis

- 3 *Peasants Before Their House* (copy)
Boston

Landscape with a Chapel (Louis ?)
Hartford (No. 48)

Peasants in Front of Their House
San Francisco (No. 46)

Peasants in a Landscape
Washington, D.C. (No. 47)

- 4 *The Young Card Players* (good copy)
Worcester Art Museum

LE NAIN Mathieu

- 5 *The Entombment*
Boston
 - 6 (?) *Christ on the Cross with the Magdalen, the Virgin, and Saint John*
Boston
 - 7 (?) *Presumed Portrait of Cinq-Mars*
Hagerstown, Washington County Museum of Fine Arts
 - 8 (?) *Portrait of a Man*
Norfolk
 - 9 *The Painter's Studio*
Poughkeepsie
 - 10 *The Brawl* (good copy)
Springfield
- Peasant Interior*
Washington, D.C. (No. 49)

LE SUEUR Eustache

- 11 *Joseph Seeking His Brothers*
Bloomington, Indiana University Art Museum
- 12 *Bacchus and Ariadne*
Boston (68.764)



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LE SUEUR (continued)

- 1 *Sacrifice to Diana*
Boston
- 2 *A Beatitude*
Chicago
- 3 *Allegory of Magnificence*
Dayton Art Institute
Young Man with a Sword
Hartford (No. 52)
- 4 (?) *Decorative Allegorical Composition*
Lawrence
Sea Gods Paying Homage to Love
Malibu (No. 50)
Virgin and Child with Saint Joseph
Norfolk (No. 54)
Sleeping Venus
San Francisco (No. 51)
The Annunciation
Toledo (No. 53)



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LEVIEUX Reynaud

- The Holy Family with the Sleeping Jesus and Saint John the Baptist*
Amherst (No. 55)
- 5 *Theseus Discovering the Sword of His Father*
(attribution suggested by Jean-Pierre Cuzin)
Jacksonville, Cummer Gallery of Art

LIÉGOIS Paul
(mid-17th century)

- 6 *Still Life with Grapes and a Curtain*
Pasadena, Norton Simon
- 7 (?) *Still Life with Plate of Peaches*
Pasadena, Norton Simon



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LINARD Jacques

- 8 *Still Life with Bunch of Flowers and Dish of Oysters*
Indianapolis
The Five Senses
Norton Simon Collection (No. 56)

LOIR Nicolas
(1624?-1679)

- 9 *The Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist*
Cambridge
- 10 *Rebecca Hiding the Idols of Her Father*
Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum
- 11 *Eliezar and Rebecca*
Northampton



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LORRAIN Claude, born Claude GELLÉE

- 12 *View of a Port with the Campidoglio (copy)*
Bloomfield Hills, Cranbrook Academy of Art Museum

LORRAIN (continued)

- 1 *The Mill*
Boston

Apollo and the Muses on Mount Helicon
Boston (No. 64)

- 2 *Seaport* (copy)
Boston (47.1058)

- 3 *Landscape with the Baptism of the Eunuch* (copy)
Buffalo, Albright-Knox Art Gallery

View from Delphi with a Procession
Chicago (No. 62)

- 4 *Landscape with an Artist Drawing
in Front of the Sea*
Cincinnati Art Museum

- 5 *Landscape with Travelers*
Cleveland

- 6 *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*
Cleveland

- 7 *Landscape with the Nymph Egeria* (copy)
Dallas

- 8 *Landscape with a Shepherd and His Flock*
Detroit

- 9 *Port with Setting Sun*
Detroit (42.127)

- 10 *Port with Rising Sun* (copy)
Detroit (89.69)

- 11 *Seascape with Bacchus and Ariadne at Naxos*
Elmira, Arnot Art Museum

- 12 *View of a Port* (pastiche; see also Oberlin)
Evansville, Indiana, Evansville Museum of
Arts and Sciences



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LORRAIN (continued)

- 1 *Landscape with Shepherds and Their Flocks*
Fort Worth

- 2 *The Rape of Europa (copy ?)*
Fort Worth

- 3 *Saint George and the Dragon*
Hartford

- 4 *Landscape with Herd and Woman Milking a Cow*
Houston

The Flight into Egypt
Indianapolis (No. 58)

- 5 *Landscape with the Father of Psyche Making a Sacrifice at the Temple of Apollo (copy)*
Indianapolis

- 6 *Minerva Visiting the Muses on Parnassus*
Jacksonville, Cummer Gallery of Art

- 7 *Landscape with Shepherds and a Mill*
Kansas City

- 8 *Landscape with Shepherd Playing Flute*
Kansas City

Landscape with an Artist Drawing in the Roman Campagna
Lawrence (No. 57)

- 9 *Landscape with Four Shepherds and Flock*
(attribution to be verified)
New Orleans

- 10 *Landscape with Shepherds*
(attribution to be verified)
Merion, Barnes Foundation

- 11 *Ulysses Returns Chryseis to Her Father (copy)*
Merion, Barnes Foundation

- 12 *Landscape with Shepherds and Flock*
New Bern, North Carolina, Tryon Palace



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LORRAIN (continued)

- 1 *Landscape with Shepherds and Flock*
New Haven

- 2 *The Ford*
New York

- 3 *Sunrise*
New York

- 4 *The Trojan Women Setting Fire to Their Fleet*
New York

- 5 *Pastoral Landscape: The Roman Campagna*
New York

- 6 *View of La Crescenza*
New York

- 7 *Landscape with Sketcher in the Roman Campagna*
(copy)
New York (1975.152)

- 8 *David at the Cave of Adullam* (copy)
New York (21.184)

- 9 *The Sermon on the Mount*
New York, The Frick Collection

- 10 *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (mediocre state)
Notre Dame, The University Art Gallery

- 11 *Landscape with Ship Cargo*
(attribution to be verified)
Norfolk

- 12 *Port Scene* (pastiche; see also Evansville)
Oberlin

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt
Omaha (No. 59)



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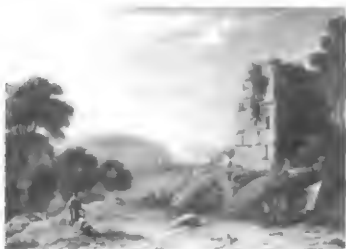
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LORRAIN (continued)

- 1 *Landscape with Shepherd Playing the Flute*
Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation
- 2 *Jacob and Laban*
Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation
- 3 *Landscape with Flock and Bagpipe Player*
Philadelphia
- 4 *Landscape with Sun Setting on the Sea* (pastiche)
Philadelphia
- 5 *Seaport* (pastiche)
Ponce
- 6 *Landscape with Three Peasants Returning with
Their Flock*
Raleigh
- Landscape with the Battle of Constantine*
Richmond (No. 61)
- 7 *The Villagers' Dance*
St. Louis
- 8 *Landscape with Flight into Egypt* (pastiche)
St. Louis
- 9 *Landscape with Shepherds*
San Diego, Putnam Foundation, Timken Art
Gallery
- 10 *Landscape with Four Shepherds and Flock*
(attribution to be verified)
San Francisco
- 11 *Landscape with Shepherd and a Bridge in the
Distance*
(copy)
San Francisco
- 12 *Seascape with Ship Cargo*
San Marino, Huntington Library, Art
Gallery and Botanical Gardens, Adele
S. Browning Memorial Collection



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LORRAIN (continued)

- 1 *Landscape with the Flaying of Marsyas* (copy)
Sarasota
- 2 *The Forum* (copy)
Springfield
- 3 *Landscape with Dancing Nymph and Satyr*
Toledo
- 4 *Landscape with Merchants*
Washington, D.C.
- 5 *Judgment of Paris*
Washington, D.C.
- 6 (?) *Shepherd and His Flock*
(original composition enlarged and modified)
Washington, D.C.
- 7 *Port with Setting Sun*
Washington, D.C.
- 8 *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*
Williamstown

Landscape with Jacob's Journey to Canaan
Williamstown (No. 63)

The paintings at Cambridge (1970.81), Chapel Hill, Malden, New Jersey (Malden Public Library), New Brunswick (Rutgers University), Portland, and Princeton (29.21) are too far removed from Claude's original works to be included.

MAÎTRE AUX BÉGUINES
(Master of the Beguines)

- 9 *Peasant Family by Well*
Chicago
- 10 *Peasant Family by Wine Vat*
Cleveland
- 11 *The Flageolet Player*
Cleveland
- 12 *Beggars Awaiting Charity*
New York (71.80)



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MAÎTRE AUX BÉGUINS (continued)

- 1 *Peasant Family with Ram*
Princeton



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MAÎTRE À LA CHANDELLE
(Candlelight Master)

- 2 *Judith and Holofernes*
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
- 3 *Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene*
Greenville
- 4 *The Dead Christ and an Angel*
Philadelphia, La Salle College Art Gallery
- 5 *The Penitent Magdalen*
Ponce
- Young Boy Singing*
San Francisco (No. 65)
- 6 *The Denial of Saint Peter*
University Park, Museum of Art,
The Pennsylvania State University



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MAÎTRE DES CORTÈGES
(Master of Processions)

- 7 (?) *The Crowd Around the Hurdy-Gurdy Player*
Minneapolis
- 8 *The Procession of the Ram*
Philadelphia



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MAÎTRE DES JEUX
(Master of Games)

- 10 *Children's Dance*
Cleveland
- 11 *The Family Meal (copy)*
Cleveland
- 12 *The Country Dinner*
Detroit



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MAÎTRE DES JEUX (continued)

- 1 *The Family Meal*
Toledo

MAÎTRE DES PETITS GARÇONS
A LA BOUCHE ENTR'OUVERTE
(Master of the Open-Mouthed Boys)

- 2 *Child's Head*
Hartford
3 (?) *Singer, Theorbo Player, and Crowned Woman*
Richmond
4 *Child's Head*
Stanford



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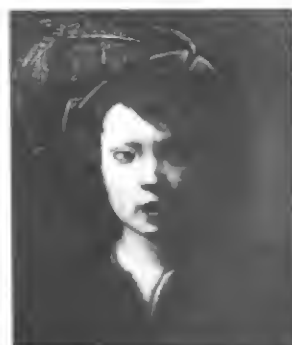
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MARTIN THE ELDER Jean-Baptiste
(1659-1735)

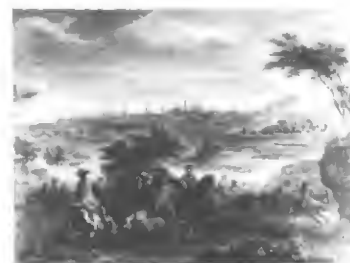
- 5 *Horsemen Before a Town*
The Baltimore Museum of Art

MAUPERCHÉ Henri
(1602 ?-1686)

- 6 *Classical Landscape with Figures*
New York (1976.100.9)



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6

MELLAN Claude
(1598-1688)

- 7 *Saint Bruno* (studio ?)
Sarasota

MELLIN Charles

The Assumption of the Virgin
Ponce (No. 67)

MICHELIN Jean
(dates unknown)

- 8 *The Baker's Cart*, 1656
New York
9 *The Poultry-Seller and the Frail Old Woman*
Portland Art Museum
10 *The Poultry-Seller and the Old Woman Warming Her Hands*, 165(2 ?)
Raleigh



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MIGNARD Nicolas

The Shepherd Faustulus Bringing Romulus and Remus to His Wife
Dallas (No. 68)

- 11 *The Holy Family*, 1659
Santa Fe, Museum of Fine Arts

MIGNARD Pierre

- 12 *Louis XIV* (copy)
Amherst



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MIGNARD (continued)

- 1 *Louis XIV* (school)
Columbus, Ohio, Columbus Museum of Art
- 2 (?) *Portrait of a Woman*
Dayton Art Institute
- 3 (?) *Head of Christ*
Greenville
The Children of the Duc de Bouillon
Honolulu (No. 69)
- 4 (?) *Portrait of Louis XIV Held in a Medallion by an Allegoric Figure Symbolizing Glory*
New Orleans, Gallier House
- 5 (?) *The Virgin and Child*
Norfolk
Christ and the Woman of Samaria
Raleigh (No. 70)



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MILLET Jean-François

- 6 (?) *Landscape with Architectural Constructions*
The Baltimore Museum of Art
- 7 *Landscape with Shepherds and Flock*
Berkeley, University of California
- 8 (?) *Landscape with Three Women on a Path*
Chicago
Landscape with Mercury and Battus
New York (No. 72)
- 9 (?) *Landscape with a Woman Holding a Child by the Hand*
Norfolk
- 10 *Landscape with Fountain*
Ponce
- 11 (?) *Landscape with Two Travelers*
Raleigh
Landscape with Christ and the Woman of Canaan
Toledo (No. 71)



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9

MOILLON Louise

- Still Life with Fruit and Asparagus, 1630*
Chicago (No. 73)
- 12 *Basket of Plums and Basket of Blackberries on a Box of Wood Shavings*
Grand Rapids Art Museum



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12

MOILLON (continued)

- 1 *Dish of Cherries, Bowl of Strawberries, Basket of Gooseberries*, 1630
Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation
- 2 *Oranges in a Cup*, 1634
Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation

MONNOYER Jean-Baptiste

- Flowers in a Basket*
Atlanta (No. 74)
- 3 *Vase of Flowers*
Cincinnati Art Museum
 - 4, 5 *Vase of Flowers* (2; vertical)
Detroit (F 61.14, 61.15)
 - 6, 7 *Vase of Flowers* (2; horizontal)
Detroit (F 68.323, 68.322)
 - 8 (?) *Vase of Flowers*
Milwaukee, Marquette University
 - 9 (?) *Vase of Flowers*
New York, Frances Godwin-Joseph
Ternbach Museum of Queens College
 - 10 *Vase of Flowers with Entablature* (signed)
Norfolk
 - 11 *Vase of Flowers*
Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University
 - 12 *Vase of Flowers*
Wellesley



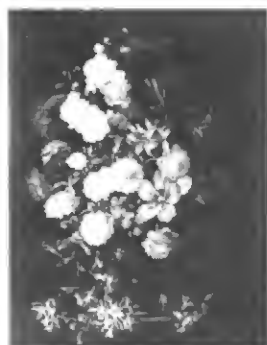
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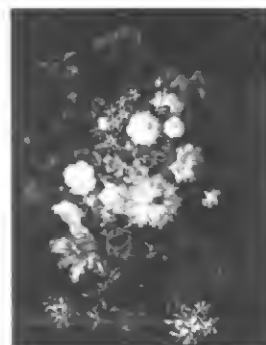
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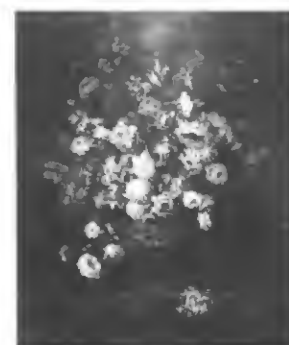
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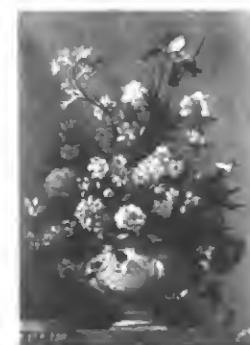
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MOSNIER Jean
(1600-1656)

- 1-4 *Decorative Group Originating from the Château
de Chenailles*
Toledo

NANTEUIL Robert
(1623-1678)

- 5 (?) *Portrait of the Maréchal de Guebriant*
(after or for an engraving by Nanteuil)
Norfolk

NICHON P.

The Carp
Boston (No. 75)

DE NOME François
also called DIDNOMÉ or DENOMÉ

- 6 *The Head of Saint John the Baptist Presented to
Salome*
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
- 7 *Saint Paul Preaching*
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
- 8 (?) *The Feast of Balthazar*
Hartford
- 9 *The Flight into Egypt*
Houston
- 10 *Architectural Capriccio Under the Moon*
Louisville, J. B. Speed Art Museum
- The Circumcision in the Temple, 1623*
New Haven (No. 77)
- 11 *The Arrest of Christ (?)*
Ponce
- 12 *Martyrdom of Saint Januarius*
Raleigh



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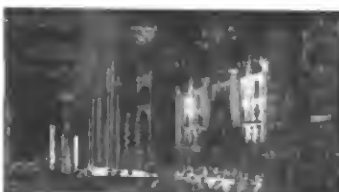
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DE NOME (continued)

- 1 *Martyrdom of Saint Januarius*
Sarasota

NORCET Jean
(1615-1672)

- 2 *Portrait of François de Vendôme,
Duc de Beaufort*
The Baltimore Museum of Art

PATEL THE ELDER Pierre

- 3 *Landscape with Ruins* (copy)
Dallas

Landscape with the Journey to Emmaus
Norfolk (No. 78)

Landscape with Ruins
Springfield (No. 79)

PATEL THE YOUNGER Pierre
(1646-1707)

- 4 (?) *Landscape with Flocks* (damaged)
Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College
Museum of Art

- 5 *Landscape with Woman and Child* (gouache),
1693
New York

- 6 *Landscape with Fisherman*
Pasadena, The Norton Simon, Inc. Museum
of Art

- 7 *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*
Providence, Brown University

- 8 *Landscape with Pan and Syrinx*
Providence, Brown University

- 9 *October, 1699*
San Francisco

PENSIONANTE DEL SARACENI

- 10 (?) *Young Card Players*
Cambridge

The Fruit Vendor
Detroit (No. 80)

Still Life with Melons and Carafe
Washington, D.C. (No. 81)

PERRIER François

- 11 *Polyphemus and Galatea*
(Kress Study Collection, K163), Lewisburg,
Bucknell University

POERSON Charles

Saint Peter Preaching in Jerusalem
Los Angeles (No. 83)

POUSSIN Nicolas

- 12 *Moses Sweetening the Bitter Waters of Marah*
(mediocre state)
The Baltimore Museum of Art



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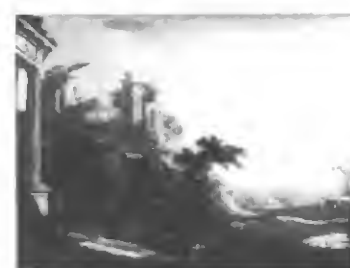
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POUSSIN (continued)

Mars and Venus
Boston (No. 86)

1 *Achilles Among the Daughters of Lycomedes*
Boston

2 *The Continnence of Scipio*
(copy of the painting at Moscow)
Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College
Museum of Art

3 *Hannibal Crossing the Alps*
Cambridge (on extended loan)

The Holy Family
Cambridge (No. 93)

4 *The Birth of Bacchus*
Cambridge

Landscape with Saint John on Patmos
Chicago (No. 91)

Landscape with Nymphs and Satyr
(*Amor Vincit Omnia*)
Cleveland (No. 84)

5 *The Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*
Cleveland

Diana and Endymion
Detroit (No. 87)

6 *The Holy Family, also called*
The Roccatagliata Madonna
Detroit

7 *The Adoration of the Shepherds*
(copy of a painting in the National Gallery,
London)
Detroit

8 *Moses Striking the Rock*
(copy of a section of the painting in the Duke
of Sutherland Collection)
Greenville

9 *The Holy Family*
(copy of *The Roccatagliata Madonna* at Detroit)
Greenville

10 *The Crucifixion*
Hartford

11 *The Nurture of Bacchus*
(copy of a painting in the Louvre)
Jacksonville, Cummer Gallery of Art

12 *The Triumph of Bacchus*
Kansas City



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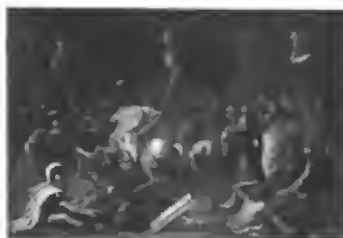
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- 1 *Saint John Baptizing the People*
Malibu

The Holy Family

Malibu

(in association with Pasadena, The Norton
Simon, Inc. Museum of Art)

The Death of Germanicus
Minneapolis (No. 85)

- 3 *Midas Bathing in the River Pactolus*
New York

- 4 *The Companions of Rinaldo*
New York

The Rape of the Sabine Women
New York (No. 90)

- 5 *Saint Peter and Saint John Healing the
Lame Man*
New York

The Blind Orion Searching for the Rising Sun
New York (No. 94)

- 6 *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice*
(pastiche combining elements of the painting
of the same subject at the Louvre and of
Landscape with Two Nymphs at Chantilly)
New York

- 7 *Adoration of the Golden Calf* (copy of a lost
original)
New York, The New-York Historical
Society

- 8 *Bacchus and Ariadne*
(copy of a painting in the Prado)
Norfolk

- 9 *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii*
Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation

The Holy Family

Pasadena, The Norton Simon, Inc. Museum
of Art (in association with Malibu) (for
illustration, see Malibu)

*The Triumph of Neptune, also called Neptune
and Amphitrite*
Philadelphia (No. 89)

- 10 *The Baptism of Christ*
Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection,
Philadelphia Museum of Art

- 11 *Landscape with Boat* (imitative; copy with
the addition of a boat copied from *The Baptism*,
Duke of Sutherland Collection)
Princeton

- 12 *Venus and Adonis* (mediocre state)
Providence



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POUSSIN (continued)

- 1 *Apollo Giving His Chariot to Phaeton*
(copy of the painting at Berlin)
Provo, Utah, Brigham Young University
- 2 *Achilles Discovered Among the Daughters of Lycomedes*
(original ?; painting has not been reexamined)
Richmond
- 3 *The Holy Family* (copy)
San Francisco
- 4 *Bacchanal in Front of Temple* (copy)
San Francisco
- 5 *The Adoration of the Golden Calf* (pastiche)
San Francisco
- 6 *The Ecstasy of Saint Paul*
Sarasota
- 7 *The Holy Family with Saint John*
Sarasota
- 8 *The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus*
(copy of a painting in the Louvre)
Springfield, Illinois, George Walter Vincent
Smith Art Museum
- 9 *The Holy Family with Saint John*
Toledo
- 10 *Mars and Venus* (overcleaned)
Toledo

The Assumption of the Virgin
Washington, D.C. (No. 88)

The Nuture of Jupiter
Washington, D.C. (No. 92)
- 11 *The Holy Family*, also called *The Holy Family on the Steps* (probably a copy)
Washington, D.C.
- 12 *The Baptism*
Washington, D.C.



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POUSSIN (continued)

- 1 *The Flight into Egypt* (mediocre state; pastiche ?)
Worcester Art Museum

RÉGNIER Nicolas

- The Penitent Magdalen*
Detroit (No. 96)
- Young Man with a Sword (Self-Portrait ?)*
Detroit (No. 95)
- 2 *Saint Sebastian*
Norfolk
- 3 (?) *Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene*
Stanford
- 4 (?) *Venetian Officer*
West Palm Beach, Norton Gallery and School of Art

REVEL Gabriel
(1643-1712)

- 5 *Family Group Portrait*, 1686
Portland Art Museum
- 6 *Portrait of Jean Dubois*
Portland Art Museum
(attribution suggested by Dominique Brême)

SAINT-IGNY Jean de

- The Triumphal Procession of Anne of Austria and the Young Louis XIV*
Poughkeepsie (No. 97)

SPIERINCKS Karel Philips
(1609-1639)

- 7 *Jupiter and Callisto*
Philadelphia

STELLA Jacques

- The Liberality of Titus*
Cambridge (No. 100)
- 8 *The Swing* (copy)
Detroit
- 9 *The Adoration of the Shepherds*
Greenville
- The Judgment of Paris*
Hartford (No. 102)
- 10 *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*
(an original Claudine Bouronnet-Stella, not a copy)
Norfolk
- The Rape of the Sabine Women*
Princeton (No. 101)
- 11 *King Candaules with Queen Nyssia and Gyges*
Sarasota

STOSKOPFF (or STOSSKOPE) Sébastien

- 12 *Still Life with Books and an Engraving After Rembrandt*
Detroit



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STOSKOPFF (continued)

Still Life with Basket of Glasses
Pasadena, The Norton Simon Foundation
(No. 103)

- 1 *Still Life with Statue of Minerva*
Princeton

TASSEL Jean

- 2 *Virgin and Child*
Hartford

The Judgment of Solomon
Sarasota (No. 104)

TESTELIN Henri
(1616-1695)

- 3 (?) *Louis XIV (fragment)*
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery
4 *Louis XIV in Coronation Costume*
Newport, Marble House

TOURNIER Nicolas

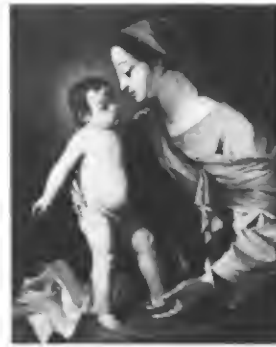
- 5 *Young Man with Plumed Hat*
(Kress Study Collection, K1823), Claremont,
Pomona College
6 (?) *Flagellation of Christ*
Providence
Banquet Scene with Guitar Player
St. Louis (No. 105)
7 *Tobias Leaving His Parents*
(photographed after restoration)
Sarasota

VALENTIN

- 8 (?) *The Crowning with Thorns*
Cambridge
Saint John the Evangelist
Chapel Hill (No. 108)
Samson
Cleveland (No. 110)
9 *Portrait of Raffaello Menicucci*
Indianapolis
10 *Soldiers and Gypsy (copy ?)*
Indianapolis
11 *The Fortune Teller (copy)*
Northampton
12 *The Four Ages (copy)*
Poughkeepsie
The Fortune Teller
Toledo (No. 106)



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VALENTIN (continued)

- 1 *Saint Jerome*
Wellesley

VAN DER MEULEN Adam-François
(1632-1690)
(French period only)

- 2, 3 *The Crossing of the Rhine*
Philadelphia

VIGNON Claude

- 4 *Allegory of Peace and War*
Binghamton, University Art Gallery, State
University of New York

- 5 *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1619
Dayton Art Institute

Esther Before Ahasuerus
Greenville (No. 114)

- 6 *Croesus Showing His Treasures to Solon*
Greenville

- 7 *The Banquet of Anthony and Cleopatra*
(architecture by Jean Le Maire ?)
Hartford

- 8 *The Adoration of the Magi* (studio)
Milwaukee, Marquette University

Saint Ambrose, 1623
Minneapolis (No. 112)

- 9 *Solomon Making Sacrifice to the Idols*, 1626
Norfolk

- 10 *The Judgment of Solomon*
Norfolk

- 11 *Saint Jerome* (copy)
San Francisco

- 12 *The Banquet of Anthony and Cleopatra*
Sarasota



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VIGNON (continued)

- 1 *Saint Peter Repentant*
Stanford
- 2 *Saint John the Evangelist*
Williamsburg, Colonial Williamsburg
Foundation; deposit of the Hispanic Society
of America, New York

VIVIEN Joseph
(1657-1734)

- 3 *Portrait of a Man*
Washington, D.C., National Collection of
Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution



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VOUET Simon

- 4 *The Daughters of Jephtha* (copy)
Cambridge
- 5 *Portrait of a Man in Armor* (school)
Chapel Hill
- 6 *Christ on the Cross* (pupil)
Chicago
- 7 *The Toilet of Venus*
Cincinnati Art Museum
- 8 *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (pupil)
Cleveland
- 9 *Virgin and Child* (school)
Dallas
- 10 *David Playing the Harp*
Greenville
- 11 *Virgin and Child* (school)
Greenville
- 12 *Salome* (pupil)
Greenville



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VOUET (continued)

- 1 *The Sacrifice of Manoe* (pupil)
Hanover, Dartmouth College Museum and
Art Galleries

Saint Margaret
Hartford (No. 115)

Saint Ursula (?)
Hartford (No. 116)

- 2 *Allegory of Victory*
Indianapolis

- 3 *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (copy)
Kansas City

- 4 (?) *The Flute Player* (copy)
Los Angeles

- 5 *Venus and Adonis*
Malibu

Angel Holding the Signpost from the Cross
Minneapolis (No. 118)

Angel Holding the Vessel of Pontius Pilate
Minneapolis (No. 119)

- 6 *The Annunciation* (pupil)
Minneapolis, St. John's Abbey

- 7 *The Virgin with a Bough*
Norfolk

- 8 *The Virgin and Child* (copy)
Philadelphia

The Toilet of Venus
Pittsburgh (No. 122)

The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John
San Francisco (No. 120)

- 9 *Diana and Endymion*
San Simeon, Hearst Historical Monument

- 10 *Neptune and Amphitrite* (?)
San Simeon, Hearst Historical Monument

Chronos, Venus, Mars, and Cupid
Sarasota (No. 121)

Saint Jerome and the Angel
Washington, D.C. (No. 117)

- 11 *The Muses: Urania and Calliope*
Washington, D.C.

WERNER Joseph
(1637-1710)

- 12 *Louis XIV* (gouache)
Norton Simon Collection



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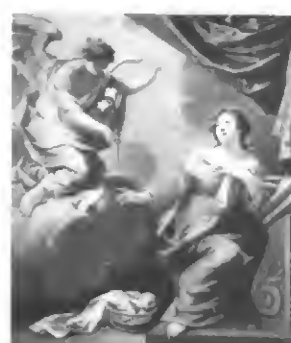
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WERNER (continued)

- 1 *Mlle de La Vallière* (gouache)
Norton Simon Collection

SELECTED ANONYMOUS WORKS

- 2 *The Concert*
(formerly Mathieu Le Nain)
The Denver Art Museum
- 3 *The Virgin*
Houston, Menil Foundation Collection
- 4 *The Virgin and Child with Saint Elizabeth*
(formerly Sébastien Bourdon)
Los Angeles
- 5 *Dido Abandoned* (?)
(formerly Eustache Le Sueur)
Los Angeles
- 6 *The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (?)
New York (1976.100.11)
- 7 *The Virgin and Child*
(formerly attributed to Le Sueur)
New York
(1976.100.16)
- 8 *Christ and the Woman from Canaan*
Norfolk
- 9 *Saint Jerome and the Angel*
(copy of No. 123)
Princeton
- 10 *Two Children Drawing*
(formerly Mathieu Le Nain ?)
Princeton
- 11 *The Holy Family with Saint Joseph*
(formerly Philippe de La Hyre)
Raleigh
- 12 *The Adoration of the Magi*
(formerly Claude Vignon)
Richmond



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- Binghamton
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- Bloomfield Hills
Lorrain ?
- Bloomington
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 Springfield, The George Walter Vincent
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 Williamstown
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 Worcester
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Paintings Granted to Churches in the United States

by Elisabeth Foucart-Walter

A catalogue of seventeenth-century French paintings in American public collections such as the present one would be incomplete without mentioning the hitherto unpublished episode of dispatches and grants of paintings to the United States. Undertaken by the French government under the Restoration, the endeavor occurred in two stages and included works of the seventeenth century as well as those of later periods. Although these dispatches were less ambitious than those made by the abbé Desjardins to Quebec during the same period, they nevertheless merit examination.

The inventories M.R. and B. in the collection of the Musée du Louvre drawn up during the Restoration¹ throw light on the artistic relations between the French monarchy and the new American dioceses in which cathedrals were being built. Several paintings from the Louvre that were sent to the United States are recorded in these inventories as having been “granted” to institutions or establishments other than museums.² The first dispatch dates from 31 July 1818, when the following six paintings from the Louvre were given to Louisiana:³

After Otto Venius [Otto Veen, called Venius, 1556 Leiden; Brussels 1625], *The Apotheosis of Saint Theresa* (H. 1.05; L. 0.74). M.R. 4992; B. 291 Bertin [Nicolas Berin, 1668 Paris; Paris 1736], *The Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew* (H. 2.48; L. 1.46). M.R. 5014; B. 412 School of Blanchard [Jacques Blanchard, 1600 Paris; Paris 1638], *The Marriage of the Virgin* (H. 1.85; L. 1.71). M.R. 5015; B. 416 Brenet [Nicolas-Guy Brenet, 1728 Paris; Paris 1792], *Saint Louis Prostrate Before the Crown of Thorns* (H. 2.48; L. 1.60). M.R. 5032; B. 471. School of Mignard [Pierre Mignard, 1612 Troyes; Paris 1695], *Virgin and Child* (H. 2.00; L. 1.30). M.R. 5108; B. 826 School of Mignard [Pierre Mignard, 1612 Troyes; Paris 1695], *Saint Matthew the Evangelist*. (H. 1.91; L. 1.54). M.R. 5109; B. 827. This painting, listed in the Inventaire Napoléon N. 827, came from the Trianon Chapel.

A study of the dossiers in the Louvre archives⁴ and of those in the Archives Nationales, Paris,⁵ allows a greater understanding of the political and ideological reasons that lay behind the concessions ordered by Louis XVIII.

We start with the Suplician father Louis Guillaume Du Bourg (1766-1833), bishop of Louisiana.⁶ He was born in Santo Domingo, but soon left with his family to settle in Bordeaux. With the advent of the Revolution, the prelate was obliged to flee France. He made his way to the United States, where he lived first in Baltimore and then in Louisiana. In 1815 Monseigneur Du Bourg was ordained bishop of the diocese of Louisiana and Florida (of which

St. Louis was then a part), which had been made an episcopal seat by Rome. The bishop remained in Louisiana until 1826, when he returned to France and became bishop of Montauban and, subsequently, archbishop of Besançon. He died in Besançon in 1833.

During his stay in the United States, Du Bourg benefited from the privileged connections that bound him, as former émigré, to the restored French monarchy. In a letter dated 1 November 1817, he appealed to the duc d'Angoulême (nephew of Louis XVIII and elder son of the future Charles X) to provide paintings for the decoration of the cathedral he had undertaken to build only three days after his arrival in St. Louis:

The enlightened zeal for religious affairs that distinguishes your Royal Highness, and from whose good effects I have had the honor to benefit, encourages me in this very humble request whose indiscretion will, I hope, be mitigated by the motives that inspire it. Your Royal Highness knows that offering objects of the Faith to the senses is one of the most effective ways of assisting the Sermon, and sometimes of replacing it. This method of instruction becomes more useful in proportion to the degree of ignorance of a population and the dearth of preachers. For both these reasons such assistance could be nowhere as desirable as in the immense territory under my jurisdiction.

To procure this, I take the liberty of hoping that your Royal Highness will kindly order that certain pictures be granted to me, from the large number of altarpieces that encumber rather than embellish His Majesty's rich deposits, to decorate a cathedral erected, 2,000 leagues from Paris, on the invocation of the first Saint of your august dynasty, near the once deserted shores of the Missouri.

What parallel could be more moving than to see one of the

1. Inventory M.R. (Musées Royaux) was drawn up and signed 24 May 1824; inventory B. is a supplement from the same period.

2. The full list of “Objets d'Art concédés en jouissance par la Restauration” has been published by Louis Courajod in *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Française*, 1878, pp. 373-399. The paintings donated to Louisiana are listed on p. 375.

3. To complete the information given in the Inventory, the artists' names, dates, and place of birth are in brackets; the attributions, however, may need to be revised (see n. 11).

4. Paris, Archives du Louvre: P¹¹ 11 Feb. 1818 and 31 July 1818.

5. Paris, Archives Nationales: 0³ 1398, 1818.

6. The role played by Bishop Du Bourg has been thoroughly investigated in two booklets devoted to the Cathedral of Saint Louis: Rev. E. H. Behrmann, *The Story of the Old Cathedral, Parish of St. Louis IX, King of France, St. Louis, Mo.*, St. Louis, 1956, and G. M. Franzwa, *The Old Cathedral, Archdiocese of St. Louis*, Basilica of St. Louis, 1965. These publications also contain useful information about the building's history.

great-grandsons and most worthy heirs of the Blood of Saint Louis contribute to spreading the Faith to the ends of the world, under the protection of the holiest of his ancestors.

In answer to the monseigneur's request, on 11 February 1818 the comte de Pradel, Directeur Général du Ministère de la Maison du Roi, asked the comte de Forbin, Directeur Général des Musées Royaux, to select six paintings from the museum's holdings and send them to the bishop of Louisiana "for the decoration of the cathedral he is building on the banks of the Missouri." Pradel added: "That is probably the best use to which painting can be put."⁸ On 6 March, Manglard, Vicaire Général of Louisiana, wrote to Forbin asking him to "press on with this affair," and on 31 July, Manglard took charge of the six paintings to ensure their safe arrival in Louisiana.⁹

The matter, however, did not end there; the donated canvases were without frames, and Manglard was obliged to organize a subscription in France. A copy of the plans he drew up for this undertaking is in the dossier of donations to Louisiana, in the Archives Nationales.¹⁰ It is luxuriously printed and highly revealing of the political and religious climate of the period. We reprint it here in full:

At the request of His Royal Highness, Monseigneur duc d'Angoulême, the king has donated six paintings for the Cathedral of the vast bishopric of Louisiana. These large paintings (some as large as ten feet) are without frames and there are no more available in the Museum. It is impossible to make them in the heart of Illinois, and there are no funds to meet this expense. We look therefore to your charity, convinced of your interest in the success of this great Mission, to which the Bishop of Louisiana, so highly esteemed by the public, has devoted himself.

It is heartwarming to think that a basilica dedicated to Saint Louis — whose principal decoration will be one of the paintings

under discussion, representing this paragon of kings — is being erected two thousand leagues beyond the cradle of the Bourbons. N.B. The priests of Saint-Thomas-d'Acquin, of the Missions Étrangères, and of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés have agreed to receive all offerings; the smallest will be accepted with gratitude.

The exact results of this enterprise are uncertain. Some money was raised, but whether it was sufficient to pay for the frames is not known. The fact remains, however, that the paintings were hung in the cathedral at St. Louis and are today in the Old Museum Cathedral, which adjoins the cathedral, rebuilt between 1830 and 1834 on the site of Du Bourg's church.¹¹

Two years later, on 16 March 1820, Pradel again approached Forbin for donations of paintings to the United States.¹² This time, Forbin was to choose for the Catholic churches in Washington and Baltimore "four religious paintings similar to those granted to Mgr. the Bishop of Louisiana." Nothing more explicit was indicated. On 19 April of the same year, the comte de Menous signed a receipt for three paintings to be dispatched to Washington and Baltimore; there is no mention of the fourth.¹³

The text of this dispatch stipulated that "these paintings, from the collection of the king, are entrusted to the churches of Washington and Baltimore for long-term use; [the churches] are responsible for their upkeep, for exhibiting them, and for returning them if such a request is made by the Ministre de la Maison du Roi; furthermore, the above-mentioned destinations are not to be altered without special authorization from the Directeur Général des Musées Royaux."¹⁴

Two of these paintings are listed in the Louvre inventories as follows: "Beaurain,¹⁵ *The Communion of the Magdalen* (H. 1.30; L. 0.94. M.R. 5012; B. 400)" and "after Vignon [Claude Vignon, 1593 Tours; Paris 1670], *Saint Paul* (H. 1.30; L. 0.96. M.R. 5155; B. 1036) [This painting came from a church in Paris]." The inventories state that these works are intended for the chapel of the French embassy in Washington, D.C. Our attempts to learn their present whereabouts have been unsuccessful.¹⁶

The third painting, sent to decorate Baltimore Cathedral (where it is today), is not listed in the Louvre inventories. The work is a Descent from the Cross (H. 4.15; L. 3.15) by Paulin Guérin (1783 Toulon; Paris 1855), a contemporary artist who had just exhibited at the Salon of 1819 (*Christ on the Virgin's Lap Surrounded by Apostles and Holy Women*, no. 552). A semiofficial painter of the Restoration, Guérin was mainly a portraitist, and at this Salon he had also presented three portraits: *Louis XVIII in Royal Dress*; *The Duchesse de Berry*; and *General Charette, Commander in Chief of the Royal and Catholic Armies in the Vendée*. The artist admirably rendered in pictorial language the generous nature of Louis XVIII.

Thanks to Gail L. Garrison's excellent study, the details of

7. Archives Nationales: 0³ 1398, 1818.

8. Archives du Louvre: P¹¹ 11 Feb. 1818.

9. Archives du Louvre: P¹¹ 31 July 1818.

10. Archives Nationales: 0³ 1398, 1818.

11. It has not been possible to confirm the attributions of these paintings. For example, in his work *Nicolas Bertin, 1668-1736* (forthcoming) M. Thierry Lefrançois catalogues (no. 32) *The Martyrdom of St. Bartholomew*, whose existence and a *fortiori* attribution he has not been able to verify. The painting representing *Saint Louis Prostrate Before the Crown of Thorns* is reproduced in the booklets devoted to the Old Cathedral (see n. 6). On examination of this illustration it seems unlikely that the attribution to Brenet can be maintained; the painter Charles-Antoine Coypel may be suggested instead.

12. Archives du Louvre, P¹¹ 19 Apr. 1810. See also Courajod, pp. 383-384.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Probably François-Marie Beaurain, born about 1768 at Froimery, near Aumale, rather than Nicolas-François Beaurain, a painter from Nancy who was married in that city in 1784.

16. The French embassy in the United States has been unable to find any trace of these paintings.

17. Gail L. Garrison, "Two Early Romantic Paintings at the Baltimore Co-Cathedral," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 72, No. 2, Summer 1977, pp. 253-265.

the commission of the fourth painting are well known.¹⁷ The author notes the decisive role of two individuals in this endeavor — French-born Ambroise Maréchal, a Sulpician priest like Du Bourg and archbishop of Baltimore from 1817 to 1828, and Baron Jean-Guillaume Hyde de Neuville, minister plenipotentiary to the United States from 1816 to 1821. Both men used their connections to bring to completion the decoration of the new cathedral, which had been in the process of construction since 1806 and which was consecrated on 31 May 1821.

As with Louisiana, the enterprise in Baltimore was clearly a political one and indeed linked to a specific event: on the point of concluding a commercial treaty with the United States, Hyde de Neuville requested that the French government offer a painting representing Saint Louis, ancestor of the Bourbon dynasty. The celebrated episode from the Crusades in which Saint Louis himself tended and buried his plague-stricken soldiers at Tunis was chosen as subject. The canvas, commissioned from Charles Steuben (1788 Mannheim; Paris 1856) in March 1821, was delivered in October 1826 to the cathedral, where it hangs today, pendant to the work by Paulin Guérin.

A study of the documents reveals that two other artists were considered: Baron Antoine-Jean Gros (1771 Paris; Meudon 1835), who was not chosen because of his excessive financial demands, and Claude Gautherot (1769 Paris; Paris 1825). In fact, the administration had considered sending one of Gautherot's canvases of the same subject, commissioned initially for the Tuileries and announced but not exhibited at the Salon of 1817. The painting was next intended for the Madeleine in Paris, then for Saint Patrick's Church, Washington, D.C., before dispatch to Baltimore was contemplated. The documents in the Baltimore dossier do not explain why this idea was abandoned. However, as Genevieve Lacambre has pointed out,¹⁸ Gautherot never finished the painting. The painting may be identified with Gautherot's sketch of the same subject in the Louvre.¹⁹

This examination of the paintings sent to American Catholic churches during the Restoration would be incomplete without mention of the Cathedral of Saint Joseph in

Bardstown, Kentucky — not for inclusion in the list of dispatches, but to end the mistaken belief that the duc d'Orléans, later Louis-Philippe, sent several Italian pictures to the cathedral in 1824.²⁰ The construction of the cathedral, which took place between 1816 and 1819, was due to the initiative of another French émigré, Bishop Benedict-Joseph Flaget (1763-1850).²¹

The duc d'Orléans indeed made generous donations to Bardstown, but his gifts, which consisted of episcopal vestments, a canopy, books, and various materials for the seminary, were intended to complete the donation of liturgical objects, tabernacles, and candlesticks given by the archbishop of Bordeaux and by the king himself. It can be shown that the paintings at Bardstown were obtained by a Father Bertrand Martial (probably from France, where so many clerics came from during this period), who was sent to Italy in 1827 especially to bring back paintings, some of which were donated by Francis I, king of Naples, others by Pope Leo XIII.

18. In writing, 24 Oct. 1977.

19. *Catalogue sommaire des Peintures du Musée du Louvre*. I: *École Française*, 1972, p. 174: "Saint Louis soignant les pestiférés: Ébauche. T. H. 2.17; L. 1.64 INV.4701."

20. See Burton B. Fredericksen and Federico Zeri, *Census of Pre-Nineteenth Century Italian Paintings in North American Public Collections*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972: The five Italian paintings of Bardstown cathedral (three from the School of Bologna, one by Preti, one from the seventeenth-century Neapolitan school) are catalogued on p. 559 as gifts of "Louis-Philippe of France in 1824."

21. See the booklet *Saint Joseph's Proto-Cathedral: Its History and Paintings*, Bardstown, Kentucky, Bardstown, 1976, by D. Hibbs, J. Franke, D. Hall, S. Filiatreau, E. Spalding, and Th. Spalding. We thank the Reverend Father Clarence Howard for bringing this publication to our attention: his recent study of Flaget's papers has revealed the precise origins of the different gifts to the cathedral.

Exhibitions

- Amherst, Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, 1974, *Major Themes in Roman Baroque Art from Regional Collections*.
- Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1951, *Het Franse Landschap van Poussin tot Cézanne*.
- Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Museum of Art, and Grand Rapids, The Grand Rapids Art Gallery, 1951-1952, *Italian, Spanish and French Paintings of the 17th and 18th Centuries*.
- Atlanta, The High Museum of Art, and Denver, The Denver Art Museum, 1979, *Corot to Braque: French Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*.
- Avignon, Palais des Papes, 1979, *Nicolas Mignard d'Avignon (1606-1668)*.
- Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1934-1935, *A Survey of French Painting*.
- Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1941, *A Century of Baltimore Collecting 1840-1940*.
- Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1961, *Fruit and Flowers*.
- Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art, 1968, *From El Greco to Pollock: Early and Late Works by European and American Artists*.
- Bern, Kunstmuseum, 1959, *Das 17. Jahrhundert in der französischen Malerei*.
- Bloomington, Indiana University Museum of Art, 1963, *Northern European Painting: The Clowes Fund Collection*.
- Bologna, Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, 1962, *L'Ideale Classico del Seicento in Italia e la pittura di paesaggio*.
- Bordeaux, Galerie des Beaux-Arts, 1964, *La Femme et l'Artiste de Bellini à Picasso*.
- Bordeaux, Galerie des Beaux-Arts, 1965, *L'Art et la Musique*.
- Bordeaux, Galerie des Beaux-Arts, 1966, *La Peinture française dans les collections américaines*.
- Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1970, *Masterpieces of Painting in the Metropolitan Museum*.
- Bristol, Museum and Art Gallery, 1938, *French Art 1600-1800*.
- Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, 1981, *Selections from Hungarian Private Collections* (in English and Hungarian).
- Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery, 1957, *Trends in Painting 1600-1800*.
- Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum, 1955, *Landscape: Massys to Corot*.
- Chapel Hill, The William Hayes Ackland Memorial Art Center, 1969, *First Decade of Collecting Exhibition*.
- Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1933, *A Century of Progress: Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture*.
- Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1934, *A Century of Progress*.
- Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1978, *European Portraits 1600-1900 in The Art Institute of Chicago*.
- Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1978, *Frédéric Bazille and Early Impressionism*.
- Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1936, *Catalogue of the Twentieth Anniversary Exhibition of the Cleveland Museum of Art*.
- Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1956, *The Venetian Tradition*.
- Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1958, *In Memoriam: Leonard C. Hanna, Jr.*
- Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1971-1972, *Caravaggio and His Followers* (rev. ed., 1975, also by Richard Spear).
- Cornell, 1964, see Ithaca.
- Denver, The Denver Art Museum, 1971, *Baroque Art: Era of Elegance*.
- Denver, The Denver Art Museum; New York, Wildenstein; and Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1978-1979, *Masterpieces of French Art: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco* (checklist).
- Derby, Drill Hall, 1870, *Works of Art and Industrial Products*.
- Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1937, *Georges de La Tour and the Brothers Le Nain* (see also New York, Knoedler, 1936).
- Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1941, *Masterpieces of Art from European and American Collections*.
- Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1949, *Masterpieces of Painting from Detroit Private Collections*.
- Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1964-1965, *The Institute Collects*.
- Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1965, *Art in Italy 1600-1700*.
- Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1965 (1) *The John S. Newberry Collection*.
- Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, and Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1964, *Peinture classique du XVII^e siècle français et italien du musée du Louvre*.
- Düsseldorf, Städtische Kunsthalle, 1978, *Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665)*.
- Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, 1981, *Poussin: Sacraments and Bacchanals: Paintings and Drawings on Sacred and Profane Themes*.
- Florence, Palazzo Pitti, 1945, *Mostra della Pittura francese a Firenze* (French ed., *La Peinture française à Florence*).
- Florence, Uffizi, 1968, *Mostra di Disegni Francesi da Callot a Ingres*.
- Florence, Palazzo Pitti, 1970, *Pittura su Pietra*.
- Florence, Palazzo Pitti, 1978, *Pittura Francese nelle collezioni pubbliche fiorentine*.
- Fort Worth, Art Center, 1954, *Inaugural Exhibition*.
- Fort Worth, Art Center; Tulsa, Philbrook Art Center; and Austin, University of Texas, 1962-1963, *A Century of Masters from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler*.
- The Hague, Mauritshuis, 1966, *In the Light of Vermeer*.
- Hamilton, The Art Gallery of Hamilton, 1980, *Man and Nature: A View of the Seventeenth Century*.
- Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, 1938, *The Painters of Still Life*.
- Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, and Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 1958, *A Director's Taste and Achievement*.
- Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum, 1964, *Let There Be Light*.
- Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1954, *House of Art*.
- Houston, Fine Arts Department, University of St. Thomas, 1961, *Desiderio's Cathedral*.
- Houston, Temple Emanu El, 1961 (1) *Festival of the Bible in the Arts*.
- Houston, Institute for the Arts, Rice University, 1971-1972, *Selection from the Menil Collection*.
- Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1973-1975, *French Oil Sketches from an English Collection*.
- Indianapolis, John Herron Art Museum, 1960, *Indiana Collects*.
- Ithaca, Cornell University, Andrew Dickson White Art Museum, 1964, *Desired Acquisitions: A Tenth Anniversary Exhibition*.
- Jacksonville, Cummer Gallery of Art, and St. Petersburg, The Museum of Fine Arts, 1969-1970, *The Age of Louis XIII*.

- Jerusalem, The Israel Museum, 1965, *Old Masters and the Bible/Maitres anciens et la Bible*.
- Kenwood, 1980, see London, Kenwood House.
- Leningrad, Hermitage, and Moscow, Pushkin Museum, 1975, *Paintings from the Metropolitan Museum* (in Russian).
- Leningrad, Hermitage; Moscow, Pushkin Museum; Kiev, National Museum; and Minsk, National Museum, 1976, *West European and American Paintings from the Museums of the U.S.A.*
- Le Puy, Musée Crozatier, and Saint-Etienne, Musée d'Art et d'Industrie, 1974, *Guy François (Le Puy, 1578?-1650)*.
- Liège, 1939, *Retrospective d'art: Peinture, Sculpture, Tapiserie, Gravure. Art Japonais: Grande Saison internationale de l'eau*.
- London, British Institution. Since 1806, the British Institution has regularly exhibited locally and internationally the principal works in British collections.
- London, Royal Academy of Arts. Since the end of the 18th century, the Royal Academy of Arts has regularly exhibited art of the past and present.
- London, Pall Mall, 1816, *A Catalogue Raisonné (sic) of the Pictures Now Exhibiting in Pall Mall*.
- London, Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1891, *Fine Art Exhibition*.
- London, Whitechapel Art Gallery, 1907, *Spring Exhibition*.
- London, Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1910, *Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures Including Examples of the Works of the Brothers Le Nain and Other Works of Art*.
- London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1932, *Exhibition of French Art 1200-1900*.
- London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1938, *Exhibition of Seventeenth Century Art in Europe*.
- London, Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, 1944, *Paintings of the French School from a Private Collection*.
- London, J. A. Tooth, 1951, *Paintings by F. Zuccero....*
- London, Agnew, 1957, *Recently Acquired Pictures by Old Masters*.
- London, Colnaghi, 1960, *Paintings by Old Masters*.
- London, Hazlitt, 1967, *Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century Paintings on Copper, Slate and Marble*.
- London, Colnaghi, 1968, *Paintings by Old Masters*.
- London, Heim, 1974, *Religious and Biblical Themes in French Baroque Painting*.
- London, H. Terry-Engell, 1975, *Master Drawings Presented by Adolphe Stein*.
- London, Heim, 1977, *Aspects of French Academic Art 1670-1780*.
- London, Colnaghi, 1979, *Old Master Paintings and Drawings*.
- London, Kenwood House, The Iveagh Bequest, 1980, *Gaspard Duguet Called Gaspar Poussin 1615-1675*.
- Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Austin, The University of Texas; Pittsburgh, The Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute; and New York, The Brooklyn Museum, 1976-1977, *Women Artists 1550-1950*.
- Madrid, Casón del Buen Retiro, 1970, *Pittura Italiana del Siglo XVII*.
- Manchester, 1857, *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*.
- Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1978, *La Peinture en Provence au XVII^e siècle*.
- Miami, Art Center, 1969, *The Artist and the Sea*.
- Milan, Palazzo Reale, 1951, *Mostra del Caravaggio e dei caravaggeschi*.
- Montreal, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts; Quebec, Le Musée de la Province du Québec; Ottawa, The National Gallery of Canada; and Toronto, The Art Gallery of Toronto, 1961-1962, *Héritage de France: French Painting 1610-1760*.
- Montreal, Expo '67, 1967, *Terre des Hommes: Exposition Internationale des Beaux-Arts/Man and His World: International Fine Arts Exhibition* (in French and English).
- Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, and Baden-Baden, Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1979-1980, *Stilleben in Europa*.
- Naples, Palazzo Reale, 1967, *Arte Francese a Napoli*.
- Nashville, Tennessee Fine Arts Center at Cheekwood, 1977, *Treasures from the Chrysler Museum at Norfolk and Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.*
- Newcastle upon Tyne, 1887, *Royal Mining Engineering and Industrial Exhibition: Jubilee Exhibition*.
- Newcastle upon Tyne, The Hatton Gallery, 1963, *Noble Patronage*.
- New Orleans, The Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, 1953-1954, *Masterpieces of French Painting Through Five Centuries*.
- New Orleans, The Isaac Delgado Museum of Art, 1962, *Fêtes de la Palette*.
- New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930, *The H. O. Havemeyer Collection*.
- New York, Knoedler, 1936, *Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Georges de La Tour, Antoine Le Nain, Louis Le Nain, Mathieu Le Nain* (see also Detroit, 1937).
- New York, Durlacher, 1938, *Paintings and Drawings by Claude Lorrain 1600-1682*.
- New York, Knoedler, 1939, *Pollaiuolo to Picasso: Classics of the Nude*.
- New York, World's Fair, 1939, *Catalogue of European Paintings and Sculpture from 1300-1800*.
- New York, World's Fair, 1940, *Masterpieces of Art*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1946, *French Paintings of the Time of Louis XIIIth and Louis XIVth*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1951, *Wildenstein Jubilee Loan Exhibition 1901-51: Masterpieces from Museums and Private Collections*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1958, *Fifty Masterworks from the City Art Museum of St. Louis*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1961, *Masterpieces: A Memorial Exhibition for Adele R. Levy*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1962, *The Painter as Historian*.
- New York, Finch College Museum of Art, 1965-1966, *French Landscape Painters from Four Centuries*.
- New York, Finch College Museum of Art, 1967, *Vouet to Rigaud: French Masters of the Seventeenth Century*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1967, *The Italian Heritage*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1967 (1) *An Exhibition of Treasures from the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1968-1969, *Gods and Heroes: Baroque Images of Antiquity*.
- New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970, *Masterpieces of Fifty Centuries*.
- New York, Wildenstein; Iowa City, University of Iowa; Madison, University of Wisconsin; Ann Arbor, University of Michigan; Urbana, University of Illinois; Bloomington, Indiana University; Chicago, University of Chicago; Minneapolis, University of Minnesota; East Lansing, Michigan State University; and Columbus, Ohio State University, 1973-1975, *Paintings from Midwestern University Collections*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1975, *Nature as Scene: French Landscape Painting from Poussin to Bonnard*.
- New York, Wildenstein 1977, *Paris-New York: A Continuing Romance*.
- New York, Wildenstein, 1978, *Romance and Reality: Aspects of Landscape Painting*.
- New York, Wildenstein, and Tampa, The Tampa Museum, 1981, *Masterworks from the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art*.
- New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1981, *Joseph Cornell*.
- Northridge, Fine Arts Gallery, California State University, 1973, *Baroque Masters from the J. Paul Getty Museum*.
- Notre Dame, The University Art Gallery, 1962, *A Lenten Exhibition*.

- Nottingham, Nottingham Castle, 1878, *Pictures and Objects in the Midland Counties Art Museum*.
- Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1958, *Artistes orléanais du XVII^e siècle*.
- Paris, 1874, *Explication des ouvrages de peinture exposés au profit de la colonisation de l'Algérie par les Alsaciens-Lorrains*.
- Paris, Petit Palais, 1925, *Exposition du Paysage français de Poussin à Corot*.
- Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1934, *Les Peintres de la réalité en France au XVII^e siècle*.
- Paris, Petit Palais, 1934 (1) *Le Nain: Peintures, Dessins*.
- Paris, Palais National des Arts, 1937, *Chefs d'œuvre de l'art français*.
- Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1948, *Chefs d'œuvre de l'art alsacien et de l'art lorrain*.
- Paris, Galerie de l'Elysée, 1950, *A la recherche de la peinture ancienne: Natures mortes du XVII^e siècle des écoles espagnole, française, flamande et hollandaise*.
- Paris, Galerie Charpentier, 1951-1952, *Natures mortes française du XVII^e siècle à nos jours*.
- Paris, Galerie Bernheim Jeune, 1954, *Le nu à travers les âges*.
- Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1960, *Louis XIV faste et décors*.
- Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1960, *Nicolas Poussin*.
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